STUDIA IRANICA. CAHIER 20

DĀDESTĀN Ī DĒNĪG

PART I

TRANSCRIPTION, TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

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PREFACE

The Dādestān ī Dēnīg "Religious Judgments" consists of ninety-two answers given by Manuščihr ī Juwānjamān, the Zoroastrian high priest, in the ninth century A.C. to the questions put to him by Mihr-Xwaršēd ī Ādurmāhān and other members of his community. The first part of the text, which contains forty questions and answers, deals chiefly with the following matters:

Why is the righteous man important and what is the purpose of the creation of the perfect man? Why do the good suffer more than the bad in this world? The sin of those who leave the Mazda-worshipping religion for the evil religion, meritorious deeds and the vision of Ohrmazd and Ahreman by the departed soul. How does the soul depart from the body and where do the righteous and wicked souls go? Ceremonies in honour of Srōš to be performed during the Sedōš (i.e. three days after death). The nature of heaven and hell, individual eschatology, the renovation of the universe, the sacred cord and the sacred shirt.

The text is one of the most important surviving books of the ninth century and as a whole is a valuable source for the history of the Zoroastrian community under Islamic influence. Because the subjects discussed herein cover a wide range of Zoroastrian religious doctrine, mythology and traditions, the text displays the extensive knowledge of its author in many different areas of study. A characteristic feature of this text is the difficult style of writing. Manuščihr's style is sophisticated but sometimes ambiguous and obscure so that his writing demands to be read carefully.

My edition of the first part of the book (chapters 1-40) is based on the text edited by the late T.D. Anklesaria, in which all the surviving manuscripts have been carefully examined. I have given a transcription of the text with critical apparatus following the method of transcription proposed by Prof. D.N. MacKenzie. I have also provided a translation and a very brief commentary.

I have received valuable advice and help from Professor Nicholas Sims-Williams, Professor Shaul Shaked, Professor Philip Kreyenbroek, and Dr. Alan Williams, without which the preparation of this work would not have been possible. Hence I take the opportunity to express my great gratitude towards them. I am very grateful to Professor Philippe Gignoux for his excellent suggestions and to Dr Rika Gyselen for her great help at the late stage of preparation of this work.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Av	Avesta
AWN.	Ardā Wirāz Nāmag: see Bib. Jamasp Asa, K.
BQ.	Borhan i Qāte'
conj.	conjunction
CPD	A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary: see Bib. Mackenzie, D.N.
Dd.	Dādistān ī dēnīg
DK	Dēnkard
DKM.	Dēnkard, ed. Madan: see Bib.Madan
Ed.	Editor: Anklesaria, T.D.
f(f).	and the following page(s)
Gr.Bd.	Zand-ākāsīh, Iranian or Greater Bundahišn: see Bib. Anklesaria, B.T.
HN.	Hādōxt Nask
Loq.	Loqat-Nāme: see Bib. Dehkhoda
MMP	Manichaean Middle Persian
MP	Middle Persian
MX.	Dādestān ī Mēnōg ī Xrad: see Bib. West, E.
M.Y.F.	Mādayān ī Yōšt ī Fryān: see Bib. Jaafari-Dehaghi, M.
n.	note
NP.	New Persian
OIr.	Old Iranian
OP	Old Persian
Pahl.	Pahlavi
Pahl.Riv.	The Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādistān ī Dēnīg: see Bib. Williams, A. V.
Pahl.T.	The Pahlavi Texts: see Bib. Jamasp-Asana, J. M.
Pahl.Vd.	Pahlavi Vendidād: see Bib. Anklesaria, B.T.
Pahl. yasnā	Pahlavi Yasna And Visperad: see Bib. Dhabhar, E.B.N.
Parth.	Parthian
Pers.Riv.	The Persian Rivayats of Hormazdyar Framarz: see Bib. Dhabhar, E.B.N.
REA.	Rivāyat ī Emēt ī Ašāvahištān: see Bib. Safa-Isfahani, N.
Sd.Bd.	Sad dar Bundahiš
Sd.N.	Sad dar Nasr: see Bib. West.
ŠGV.	Škand-Gumānīk Vicār: see Bib. Menasce, P. Jean.
ŠnŠ	Šāyast nē-Šāyast: see Bib. Tavadia J.C.
vb	verb
WZ.	Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram: see Bib. Gignoux, Ph., and Tafazzoli, A.
Y.	Yasna
Yt.	Yašt
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZWY	Zand ī Wahuman yasn: see Bib. Anklesaria, B.T.

*	Words emended in the text.
[ ]	Letters or words supplied in the text.
< >	Letters or words deleted in the text.
( )	Explanatory words added in the translation.
+	Used in the translation to draw attention to an explanation in the Commentary.

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INTRODUCTION

The *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* or 'Religious Judgments' is a Pahlavi text from the late ninth century which is very important because of the information it gives about the Zoroastrian priesthood and tradition during the early rule of Islam in Iran. It was translated into English for the first time in 1882 by Edward West [1] and later, in 1926, into Gujarati by T.D. Anklesaria and S.D. Barucha.[2] The first critical edition of the text (chapters 1-40) was made by T.D. Anklesaria,[3] though an edition of the first fifteen chapters of *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* had been published earlier.[4] A critical edition of the second part of the text (chapters 41-92) was prepared by P.K. Anklesaria [5] and was submitted as a thesis for the Ph.D. of the University of London in 1958 but has never been published. Many individual chapters or shorter sections of the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* have been edited and translated by various scholars.

The Time and Life of Manuščihr

Manuščihr's time and background has been studied in a scholarly way during the last few decades. West, in the introduction to his translation of the *Dd.* and *Epistles of Manuščihr*, has offered detailed information on him [6] (cf. also Kanga 1951,[7] Tavadia 1956,[8] Pagliaro 1960,[9] Menasce 1975,[10] Boyce 1979,[11] and Kreyenbroek 1995,[12]). According to the above literature Manuščihr the son of Juwānjam flourished around 881 A.D.[13]

[1] West, E. W., *The Dādistān-ī Dīnīk And The Epistles of Mānūskīhar*, Oxford, 1882.

[2] Anklesaria, T.D., and Barucha, S.D., *Dādestān-ī Dīnī nō Tarjumo*, (Gujarati), Bombay, 1926.

[3] Anklesaria, T.D., *The Datistan-i Dinik*, Part I, pursišn I-XL, Bombay, undated. Hereafter I refer to the text as 'Dd.' and the author as 'Ed.'

[4] Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana, *The Dādistān-ī-Dīnīk, Questions 1-15*, Bombay, 1897 (inaccessible to the present editor).

[5] Anklesaria, P.K., *A Critical Edition of the Unedited portion of the Dādestān-ī Dīnīk*, unpubl. thesis, University of London, 1958.

[6] West, *loc.cit.*, XIII-XIV.

[7] Kanga, M.F., 'Life and Letters of Manushchihr Goshnjam', in: *Prof. Poure Davoud Memorial Volume*, No. 11, Bombay, 1951.

[8] Tavadia, J.C., *Der Zarathuštrier*, Leipzig, 1956.

[9] Pagliaro, A., *Storia della Letteratura Persiana*, Milano, 1960.

[10] 'Zoroastrian Literature After the Muslim Conquest', in: *The Cambridge History of Iran* 4, (ed.) E. Yarshater, Cambridge, etc., 543-565.

[11] Boyce, M., *Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices*, London, 1979.

[12] Kreyenbroek, Ph., 'The Introduction to the Dādestān ī Dēnīg', in: *Au Carrefour des Religions. Mélanges Offerts à Philippe Gignoux*, Bures s/Y, 1995.

[13] See Epistle III from which the above year is deduced: 'I wrote this epistle from my own hand-writing, and sealed several copies for the information of any faithful whatsoever of Eran Shahr, for the sake of receiving the approval of the opinion of me, Manushchihr, son of Goshn-Jam [read: Juwān-jam] concerning the mandate of the

His family goes back to Ādurfarnbag Farroxzādān who was a great high priest who effectively defended the Zoroastrian faith in a debate at the court of the Caliph Ma'mūn (813-33).[14] He handed the office of Zoroastrian authority to his son Zardušt, from whom it passed to Vahrāmšād who is cited in Mādayān ī Hazār Dādestān as an authority in Zoroastrian law. Vahrāmšād delivered the office of religious leadership to Juwānjam, who had four sons amongst whom Manuščihr was the most distinguished.[15] His second son, Zādspram, the author of *The Selections*, was subsequently forced by Manuščihr to reconsider his new ideas about shortening the ceremonies of purification (*barašnum*). Manuščihr was called *hērbed* 'teaching priest' in the heading of *Epistles* I and II. He also held the title of *hērbed xwadāy* 'lord of the teaching priests' according to *Epistle* III then *rad* 'pontiff', *framādār* 'director (of the profession of priests)[16] and *dēn pēšōbāy* 'the leader of the religion'. Manuščihr's judgments as is apparent throughout his works are based on the ideas and wisdom of the ancient leaders of the religion as handed down by *dastūrān* and *pōryōtkēšān*.[17]

Date and Contents of Dādestān ī Dēnīg

The *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* 'Religious Judgments' consists of ninety-two answers given by Manuščihr to the questions put to him by Mihr Xwaršēd ī Ādurmāhān and other members of his community. The *Dd.* belongs to a group of Pahlavi texts which appear almost wholly Sasanian in its content and references. As West (1882, XXII) has pointed out, to judge from the imperative tone of Manuščihr in his Epistles written in the year 881 A.D. in comparison with his less imperative tone in the *Dd.* it is likely that the *Dd.* was written several years before 881 A.D.[18] The term *Pahlavi Rivāyat* attached to the text by which *Dd.* is accompanied seems to be a modern name. According to Williams (1990, I, 8), since both the *Pahlavi Rivāyat* and *Dd.* have their own opening and closing formulae 'it would seem most reasonable to regard them as two independent texts'.[19]

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religion in the victorious month Xvardat of the year 250 Yazdkart in confidence of and thankfulness to God' (the translation is that of Kanga 1951, 194).

[14] See Boyce 1979, 153.
[15] *Ibid.*
[16] Introduction to Dādestān ī Dēnīg and Epistle II.
[17] See Kreyenbroek 1995, 171.
[18] See West 1882, XXII.
[19] See Williams 1990, I, 8, as well as Christensen 1917, 6.

As to the subjects discussed in *Dd.*: chapters 1-40 are mainly concerned with religious doctrines, the important responsibilities and duties of the righteous man (*Dd.*1-3), apocalyptic and eschatological ideas (*Dd.*35-36), the relationship between man and God (*Dd.*18), and other important questions such as: why is the righteous man important and what is the purpose of the creation of the perfect man? Why does the good man suffer more than the bad man in this world? The sin of those who leave the Mazda-worshipping religion for the evil religion, meritorious deeds and the vision of Ohrmazd and Ahriman by the departed soul. How does the soul depart from the body and where do righteous and wicked souls go? Ceremonies in honour of Srōš to be performed during the Sedōš (i.e. three days after death). The nature of heaven and hell, individual eschatology, the renovation of the universe, the sacred cord and the sacred shirt. According to Manuščihr, men's responsibility (*xwēškārīh*) is mainly to adopt wisdom (*xrad*) and truthfulness (*rāstīh*) in order to perform the will of God [20] and to expel the druz from the world.

The style of writing of Dādestān ī Dēnīg

The *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* is in the form of questions and answers, which is a common type of oral composition,[21] but here is written in a characteristic style which is markedly different from that of other Pahlavi writings. One aspect of this text is its difficulty. Manuščihr's style is complex, sometimes ambiguous and obscure, sometimes ponderous and awkward, and therefore demands to be read carefully. One may assume that the art of composing original texts in Pahlavi had become somewhat artificial by the ninth century. The use of numerous compounds is another stylistic trait of *Dd.* Manuščihr appears to coin original compounds such as *spōz-az-gāhīh* 'without delay',[22] *dārmag-dānišnān* '(people of) delicate knowledge',[23] *a-bowandag-nimūdārīh* 'incomplete guidance',[24] *nazdīk-rāh-tar* 'the most direct means',[25] *kū-gyāgīh ud kay-zamānīh* 'the place and time',[26] etc., so it would seem to be the case that his language is more complex in proportion to the difficulty and theological abstractness of the subject under discussion. Redundancy is another characteristic feature. Tedious

[20] Dd.1.
[21] See Boyce 1968, 43.
[22] Dd.Int.12.
[23] Dd.Int.24.
[24] Dd.Int.22.
[25] Dd.16.12.
[26] Dd.13.3.

and lengthy sentences are due to the combination of clauses which are not always relevant to the main sentence. In other words Manuščihr uses many parenthetical sentences in which often there is no verb.[27] It is likely that the syntax of the text has been further muddled by scribes who did not fully understand the text and attempted to improve it as they saw fit. As West correctly suggests, Manuščihr's writings are very difficult both to understand and to translate into English. Nevertheless he commands our respect by the depth of his thought and the power of his judgment.

The Manuscripts of the Dādestān ī Dēnīg [28]

The following Manuscripts were used for the edition of *Dd.* by T.D. Anklesaria:

(A) The Iranian Manuscripts:

1) TD - written by Gopatshah Rustom Bundar about 1592 A.D. (= 961 A.Y.) [29] in Kerman and brought from Yazd to India by Ervad Tahmuras D. Anklesaria in 1870.[30] A copy of this MS. is kept in the Mulla Feroze Library of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute Bombay. The MS. was lacking the first 135 pages, some pages in the middle and also the last pages. As Anklesaria mentions, Gopatshah was a hasty and careless scribe but his handwriting is clear and legible.[31] Full descriptions of the MS.[32] are given by K.M. Jamasp Asa 1978, Introduction; T.D. Anklesaria and S.D. Barucha 1926; E.W. West 1882; B.N. Dhabhar 1923 and P.K. Anklesaria 1958.

2) K35 - written in Kerman in 1572 A.D. corresponding to the year 941 A.Y. According to West's opinion given in his letter to N.L. Westergaard who brought the MS. K35 from Iran in the year 1843 and presented to the University Library of Copenhagen in 1878 'the writing of this MS. is rather hasty but very legible' (quoted from West).[33] A full description of

[27] e.g. Dd.2.13, 14.3, 16.13, 30.17.
[28] See Dd., preface.
[29] Cf. Jamasp Asa, *ibid.*; but Dd. states 'about 1510-1530' in preface; cf. also Anklesaria, 1958, 10 who gives a date between 850-910 A.Y.
[30] Cf. Jamasp Asa, 1978, Introduction; but Dd., states 1969 in preface.
[31] See Anklesaria, P.K., 1958, 13.
[32] The MS. TD was later published by the Asia Institute of Pahlavi University in Shiraz (see bibliography).
[33] See S.B.E., Vol. XIII, 340.

the MS.[34] is given by West 1882, Christensen 1917, T.D. Anklesaria and S.D. Barucha 1926 and P.K. Anklesaria 1958.

3) BK - written in Kerman. According to West 1882, XVI [35] seems to have been a direct copy of K35. This MS. was collated by Erwad Dhabhar and Tahmuras Anklesaria for their editions of the Epistles of Manuščihr and Dādestān ī Dēnīg Part I respectively but it was not available to P.K. Anklesaria when he edited the text of *Dd.* Part II. It seems now to have been presented to the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute Bombay. Brief descriptions of the MS. are given by West 1882, Anklesaria T.D. and Barucha S.D. 1926 and Anklesaria P.K. 1958.

(B) The Indian Manuscripts:

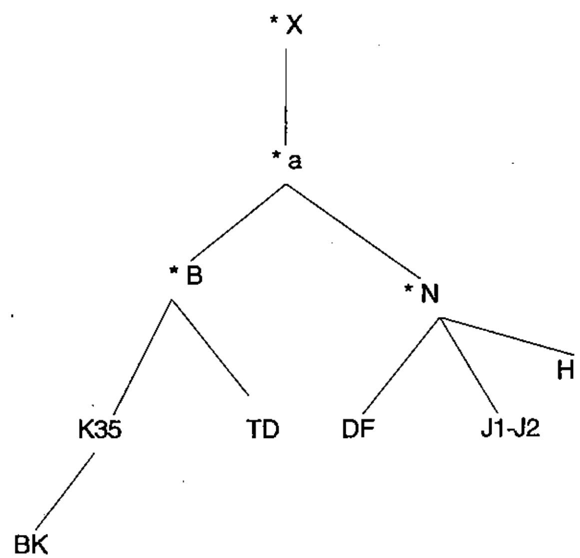
1) DF - is thought to have been written by Dastūr Jamshedji Peshotanji of Bulsar [36] and was available to T.D. Anklesaria and P.K. Anklesaria to collate with other MSS. while they were editing their 'Pahlavi Texts'. The important characteristic of this MS. is that it has a Persian interlinear translation in the traditional way.[37]

2) J1 J2 - was lent to T.D. Anklesaria by Dastūr Jamaspji Minocherji Jamasp-Asana in 1869. According to West's unpublished description quoted by Anklesaria 1958, 36, the MS. was written by D. Jamshed and bears two different dates of 1188 A.Y. and 1210 A.D. A concise description of this MS. is also found in B.N. Dhabhar *Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying Dd.*, Introduction p. 13 and *Epistle of Mānuščihr*, Introduction p. 19.

3) H - according to P.K. Anklesaria [38] the MS. H probably belonged to Dastūr Peshotan Sanjana and his son Dastūr Darab by whom a copy of the MS. was presented to Dr. Martin Haug in 1868. P.K. Anklesaria (*loc.cit.*) reports that a copy of this MS. is in the Staatsbibliothek Munich numbered M59. P.K. Anklesaria quotes from a letter of West published by Unvala in which West remarks that the MS. has evidently been much emended.

On the basis of the above remarks the relationship between the MSS. can be shown in the following stemma:

[34] The MS. K35 was later published by the Asia Institute of Pahlavi University in Shiraz (see bibliography).
[35] Cf. also Anklesaria, 1958, 17.
[36] See *ibid.*; 30; and Dd., Preface.
[37] See *ibid.*
[38] 1958, 4.



The present Edition, Transcription and Translation

My edition of the first part of the book is based on the text edited by the late T. D. Anklesaria in which all the surviving manuscripts have been carefully examined.

I have given a transcription of the text with critical apparatus following the method of transcription proposed by Prof. D.N. MacKenzie. I have also provided a translation and a very brief commentary. In my text I have attempted to follow the MSS. as much as possible and to avoid emendation. In my translation I have attempted to be as literal as possible and to avoid paraphrase, though in some circumstances I have had no alternative but to give explanatory phrases in parentheses.

TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION

HEADING

pursišnīhā [ī] cand dar ī mihr-xwaršēd ī ādur-māhān az anōšag ruwān manušcihr ī juwānjamān kard [ud] abārīg hu-dēnān u-š pāsox [ī] wizārēnīd.[1]

INTRODUCTION

(Int.0) pad nām ud nērōg [ud] ayārīh ī dādār ohrmazd [ud] wispān yazdān hamāg yazdān [ī] mēnōgān [ud] yazdān [ī] gētīgān hamāg dām ud dahišn [ī] ohrmazd ō dahišn [ī] xwēš wāspuhragānīg spurrēnīd.[2]

(Int.1) hu-dēnān ī ēd pursīdārān: az stāyišnīg nērōg ī cihr ud zōr ī gōhr ud daxšag ī xrad ud nišān ī hunar kē-z xrad-xwāhišnīh [ud] kirbag-uskārišnīh ud dēnīg-wizōyišnīhā pursišn paydāg.

(Int.2) az manušcihr ī juwānjamān āfrīn.

(Int.3) pāsox ēd kū cē-tān purr-dōšārmīhā ud wuzurg-abardomīhā andar ēd pursišnīg-nāmag ō man āfrīnēnīd cand-tān āfrīnēnīd [ud] ciyōn-tān āfrīnēnīd . purr-paymānīhā [ud] bowandag abzōn-padēxīhā aw-iz ašmā hamist ham-paywandān jud-jud pad xwēš niyābag spurr[3] rasād ud dagr pattāyād [ud] ō nēk-frazāmīh paywandīhād.

(Int.4) ān ī-tān framūd nibištan abar ayāsišn ī ō ham-wēnišnīh ud ham-pursišnīh[4] [ī] man mihrbānagīh ud dēn-dōstih ī xwad.

(Int.5) amā hamist kē yazdān bandag pad kōxšišn [ī] druz ham-spāh pad āstawānīh[5] ī abar weh-dēn ī māzdēsn *ham-ēstišn[6] pad ēk ān ī ahlāyīh rāh <ī> ham-tuxšišn ō[7] gāh ī andar ān ī pāšom axwān ham-ārzōg pad hāzišn ī ō ān ī pāšom axwān [ud] fraš(a)gird ham-ēmēd hēm[8] ān-mān kām ī ham-wēnišnīh [ud] ham-pursagīh cimīg u-š sāl. ān-iz ī dēn nigēzēd kū: kē abāg ōy ī dānāg ud ahlaw pad ham-wēnišnīh [ud] ham-pursagīh nazdīk ēg-iš kirbag ī was waxšišnīgtar ud ān ī meh pattāyišnīgtar.

1. Text: gwc'lynyt'
2. Text: wspwl wndynyt'
3. Text: wspwl
4. BK: h'mpwrsyh
5. Text: 'wstwbw'nyh; TD: 'stb'nyh
6. Text: hmystšn' for hm'stšn'; TD: hmzkpšn'
7. Thus K35; Text, BK, TD, J2 have: OL 'n
8. Emended by ed.; Text: HWE-wm

HEADING

Questions on a number of subjects which Mihr-Xwaršēd, son of Ādur-Māh, and other associates of the Good Religion asked of Anōšag-Ruwān (i.e. of immortal soul) Manušcihr, son of +Juwānjam, and the answers +given by him.

INTRODUCTION

(Int.0) In the name and with the power and help of the Creator Ohrmazd and all the *yazdān*, all the spiritual and earthly *yazdān*, all the creatures and the creations by which Ohrmazd has particularly perfected his creation.

(Int.1) To those of the Good Religion, who are asking these things about the praiseworthy strength of nature, and the power of nature, and the signs of +wisdom and proof of ability, and also of whom the desire for wisdom and devotion to the good deeds, and interest in the religion are manifest through their questions, (2) blessings from Manušcihr son of Juwānjam.

(Int.3) And the following is (my) answer: as you have blessed me in this letter of enquiries, filled with love and great superiority, as much as you have blessed, and in the same way as you have blessed in full measure and in perfect and increasing prosperity, so may it (i.e. the blessing) reach fully to all of you and (your) dependents, as is appropriate to each individually, and may it last long and conclude with good results.

(Int.4) As to that which you had written concerning the memory of your meeting and discussion with me, it is (a sign) of your kindness and your love of religion.

(Int.5) We are all servants of the *yazdān*, and +fellow soldiers in the struggle against the *druz*, persistent in the profession of the Good Mazdayasnian Religion, and striving in the one path, that of righteousness, and desirous of that place in the Best Existence, and hopeful in bringing about the renovation (for) the Best Existence; (so) our desire to meet and discuss together is reasonable and (has continued for) a year. And also the religion teaches that he who comes near to the wise and righteous (man) to meet and discuss with him, then his good deeds are of the most-increasing and long-lasting nature.

(Int.6) ud stāyišn ī-tān man rāy wēš az sāmān [ud] meh pāyag framūd nibištan cim ī mādayān purr dōstīh [ud] nigerišn ī pad hu-cašmīh u-m pad-iš rāh ī ō spās-dārīh.

(Int.7) ān ī-tān pad dānistan [ud] šnāxtan rāh be man enyā ō any kas nē būdan framūd nibištan az ašmā dōšāramīh ō rōn ī hu-cašmīh be mādagwarīh ud rāstīh rāy cimīg nigerišn dādīhātar aw-iz abārīg mowmardān [1][ī] pad hunar ī-šān bowandag-menīdārīhātar sazēd nibištan.

(Int.8) cē abāg-iz škeft kōxšīdārīh ī druz ud garān wišōbišn ud zūrīh ī ō dēnīgān mad ēstēd pas-iz pad yazdān xwābarīh nūn-iz radān mowbedān dastwarān dādwarān ud abārīg-iz dēnīgān [ud] dēnīgbedān kustag-kustag ud anī-z hērbedān ud mowmardān [2] ī ōšmurd-mānsar ī dranjēnīd-zand [ī] uskārd-dādestān ī āgāh dēn ī nimūdār cim ī wizīdār kirbag pad cand gyāg hēnd kē pad-iz owōn dādestān šnāxtan [ud] dānistan [ī] rāh awēšān [3] wišādag.

(Int.9) ān ī-tān kāmag abāyistan [4] ud xwaš-menišnīh az ān ī man abar būd framūd nibištan ā-m nišān ī dōstīh ud hu-cašmīh u-tān az yazdān ham-paymān [ī] dōstīh [ud] hu-cašmīh ī xwēš bawēd.

(Int.10) ān ī-tān andar wēš-dōstīh stāyīdārīh freh-būdīhā man rāy pad kišwar dastwarīh ud ēkīh ī be [az] dudīgarīh ud tāgīh [ud] judīh [5] az [6] ham-sāmān framūd nibištan agar ōh-iz ašmā dōstīh rāy nibišt pas-iz man duš-xwār sahist az ēd owōn stāyišn.

(Int.11) agar andar ēn zamānag [ud] šahrān *ī-mān [7] šnāxtag ud āšnāg abar kas ast [8] pad ōy ī dagr wurrōyišnīh [ud] dēn-pēšōbāy ī *frāzīg [9] man xwēš rāy nē ābrōyīg dārēm ka ān stāyišn ī "sālār mān ēwāzīg niyābag" abar man srawāgīhēd ud nē-z rāmišnīg bawēm [10] ka-m meh az xwēš sālār nāmēnēnd. cē-m stāyišn ān kāmag ī pad xwēš pāyag ud tāyag [ud] wimand u-m ābrōyīg sahēd ērīh andar xwēš abarīg [ud] hāwand ud mehīh abar kehān.

1- Text: mynwk GBRA- ʾn; TD omits mynwk
2- Text: mynwk GBRA- ʾn
3- Text: ʾwbš šʾn
4- Text: ʾbʾyytn'
5- Text: ywʾʾtyh; emended by Kreyenbroek
6- Text: ME; emended by Kreyenbroek
7- Text: zmʾn; emended by Kreyenbroek
8- Text: ʾt'; emended by Kreyenbroek
9- Text: prʾck'
10- Text: YHWWN- wm

(Int.6) And +the main reason for the vast and high praise which you have had written about me is your affection and kind regard, and my custom is to be grateful for that.

(Int.7) As to that which you have had written about there being no access to anyone but myself for knowledge and recognition, this is owing to your love and the result of benevolent regard; but for the sake of keeping particularly to the truth it is more legitimate to have a reasonable regard for the other virtues and it is proper to write to other +priests who are accomplished.

(Int.8) For in spite of the assault of the *druz* and the grievous destruction and the deceit which has happened to the faithful, after the beneficence of yazdān, even now, there are *Rads*, *Mowbeds*, *Dastwars*, judges and also other faithful leaders (of the religion) in various regions, and also other *Hērbeds* and +*Mowmards* who have studied the Sacred Words, recited the Zand, considered the Religious Law, and who are acquainted with the religion, and are displayers of the reasons and the distinctive good deeds, who are in many places, and by whom the way to understanding and recognizing of such religious judgments is opened.

(Int.9) As to that which you had written about your desire, need and pleasant thoughts about me, this is also a mark of your friendship and benevolence, and may you have the same measure of friendship and kind regards of the *yazdān*.

(Int.10) As to that which you have had written in much friendship and excessive praise of me (as if) I am a perfect *Dastwar* of the country, unique and without equal, peerless with no counterpart, even if you wrote in friendship, such praise makes me feel uncomfortable.

(Int.11) If at this time and these countries which are known and with which we are acquainted, there is a great person who is the +chief +leader of the religion on account of his steadfast belief; then I do not regard it as honourable for myself when praise as 'our only proper leader' is broadcast about me, and I am not pleased when they (i.e. people) call me greater than their own leader. For I would like to be praised according to my position and +ability (?) and limitation; and it seems to me honourable to be humble towards those who are superior or equal to oneself and to be superior towards the inferior ones.

(Int.12) ān ī-tān wistāxīhā [ud] wistāxgarīhā abar drāz nibištan ī pursišn [framūd nibištan] ēn-iz nimūd kū pāsox pad hangām nibēsēm ī-m andar pardazišn bawēd [ud] ān ī ašmā pad hu-cihr pursišnīh wistāxīh cimīg. [ud] man abar gōkānīg-pāsoxīhā [ud] spōz-az-gāhīh kām [ī] taftīg cē spōz ayāb a-bowandagīhā pāsoxīh a-niyābag ast.[1] az ān ī škeft-kōxšišnīh ī druz rāy awištāb [ud] *wizōyišnīg [2]-menišnīh az ān ī a-wizīrišnīg ud frēzwānīg kār kam pardazišnīh ast.

(Int.13) abar pāsox hangām ud [3] pardazišn ī-mān zamān dād ī-tān andar nāmag paydāgēnīd jud-iz az hu-cašmīh ī dōstīhā nišān ī āgāhīh [4] ī-tān az ān ī man kam pardazišnīh az-iš paydāg.

(Int.14) u-m ēn-iz wistāxīh ast kū-tān pursišn dēnīg-wurrōyišnīhā [ud] dēnīg wizīr abāyišnīgīhā nibišt. andar pāsox cim-paydāgīh [ī] az dēn was ō [5] nimāyišn ī pad dānāgīh a-niyāz[6] ud az har(w) [7] ēwēnag abar xwāhišnīh abē-bīm.

(Int.15) ud im nāmag andar māh [ī] tīr pad dōl owōn mad ka xwāstārīh ī az šāhīgān pad se sālag bahr [8] ī sālag-e ud hu-dēnān must frāx. [ud] āsānīh ī pad-iš a-wizīrišnīg [9] ud cārag-garīh ī-m cand ādūgīh abar ān must [ud] spōzišnīh frēzwānīgtar. ud cār ī abar bōxtārīh ud frayādišn ī hāwištān [ī] cand wihān ī handāxt ēstād rāy-am [10] ō xūbīhā nigerīdan ī im pursišn nē ayāft tā māh [ī] šahrewar ka ō šīrāz āmad hēm u-m hangām hangām [ī] andak-ē pardazišn būd u-m im pursišn nigerīd.

(Int.16) ka-m im jādagīhā nibēsišnīh dīd ēg-im [11] pursišn dar-dar [12] judāg ud daxšagīhātar [13] kardan cimīgtar sahist.

(Int.17) ud u-m ō dibīr-ē dād pursišn [ī] pad im pacēn ī-tān framūd nibištan dar-dar har(w) pursišn-ē pad dar-ē nibišt ud hangirdēnīd.

[1]- Text: 'ny'pyhyt'; emended by Kreyenbroek
[2]- Text: wcyšnyk
[3]- Text: Y
[4]- Text: 'k'syh'
[5]- Text: OL
[6]- Thus text; Kreyenbroek emends to: hw'y'c
[7]- Text: 'l
[8]- Text: bhl for b'hl
[9]- Thus TD; Text: 'wcylšnyh
[10]- Text: l'dm; BK, K35: l'd MN
[11]- Text: 'yn'm; TD: w'ynwm; DF: 'ynwm
[12]- Text: BBA W BBA
[13]- J1, DF, BK, K35: wcyh'kyh'tl

(Int.12) As to that which (you have had written) surely and confidently in regard to lengthy writing of your enquiries, it also showed that I should write the reply at the first opportunity; and your confidence in your proper question is reasonable; and my fervent wish is to give the answers in detail and with no delay, because it is not proper to delay or give incomplete answers. The reason for the haste is the hard assault of the *druz*, and that there is little free time for an inquiring frame of mind on account of inevitable and compulsory duties.

(Int.13) As to the time for answering and the leisure which time gave us, explained in your letter, apart from benevolent regards of friendship, it is evident that you are aware of my lack of leisure time.

(Int.14) And I have also this confidence that your questions are written in faithful belief and need for religious judgments. And in (my) reply the explanations of the reasons which are manifold from the faith should be shown in such a way that there is no need of (religious) knowledge and no fear of further request.

(Int.15) And this letter came in the month of Tīr, at +Dōl, just when the demand of the +royal treasury was for the amount of three years (tax?) in a single year, and the complaints of the Zoroastrians were many. And it was necessary to give comfort in that (i.e. difficulty), and to find a remedy for these complaints and violations by using my few abilities. And for the sake of finding a remedy to save and help the disciples who had planned some excuse (i.e. about tax?) I found no (opportunity) to look properly at these questions until the month of Shahrivar, when I came to Shiraz, and the time was a time of a little leisure for me, and I could look at these questions.

(Int.16) When I saw this letter (including) different cases, then it seemed more reasonable to me to make each chapter of the questions separate and more distinct.

(Int.17) And I gave to a scribe the questions which were in this copy and you have had written, and he wrote each question in the separate chapter and completed them.

(Int.18) cand u-m az dēn āgāhīh u-m pad ōš ayādīh ud az pēšēnīgān dastwarān [1] pad xrad sahišn ast pāsox azēr ī pursišn nibišt kāmēm.

(Int.19) ka ciyōn pursīd ciš andar nēst ān rāy juttar owōn sahēm ciyōn nibēsēm.

(Int.20) az ān ī ciyōn ān ī amā āgāhīhā az ān ī pēšēnīgān dastwarān kē weh [ud] dānāgtar ud axw ud rad ud dastwar ī amā būd hēnd [ka-z] [2] āgenēn jud-dādestānīh būd ān man <ka-z> [3] wizīr ī abar im dar ēdōn ciyōn-mān dastwarān [ī] zamānag [4] ud dūdag pad mādagwar dāšt nibišt.

(Int.21) pas-iz abar gōwišn ī ān dastwar kē any ēwēnag ast jud-dādestānīh nēst ud agar ast ī-m sahišn ī ō šnāsišn [5] ī drust rāy ayāft mowmard [6] ī dēn-āgāh kē šnāsēd kē dēn-āgāhīhā wirāst pad spās dārēm. [ud] mādayān ī rāstīh ī pēšēnīgān dastwarān gōwišn ān cē pad cim andar pāsox [ud] ēd cē pad rōšngarīh ī wizīr nibišt.

(Int.22) agar ēdōn cim rāy bowandag ayāb wizīr rāy rōšn nē wēnīhēd nē pargast az a-bowandagīh ī dēn wizīr pad rōšnīhā-nimūdārīh ud drust-cimīh be az a-bowandag-nimūdārīh ī amā ō šnāsišn [7] ī ān [ī] dēn nigēz [ud] pargūd-az-ōšīh ī ān-iz ī-mān xwāst āgāhīhā padēx [8] awištāft-menišnīh ī az āwām sēzdēnīh.

(Int.23) ōh-iz nūn jud az cihrag dānišn baxšāyišnīh ī weh mēnōgān [9] ud mānsar wizārišnīg ud nigēzišn ī dēn rōšntar nimāyišn ī abar dēnīg warzišn az dō bun abērtar az-iš paydāgīhēd: ēk az mādayān <ī> nimūdārīh ī *āsn-xrad [10] [ī] dēn-pēšōbāy ud ēk mādayāntar az nihādag [11] ī hu-fraward pēšēnīgān ī pēšōbāyān ī meh pōryōtkēšān.

1- Thus DF; Text: dstwblyh
2- Emended by Kreyenbroek
3- Emended by Kreyenbroek
4- Thus Text, TD; BK: zm'n'; others: ZY- m'n'
5- Text: šn'yšn'; emended by ed.
6- Text: W mwg- GBRA for: mgw- GBRA
7- Text: šnāyšn'; emended by ed.
8- Thus Kreyenbroek; Text: ptyš; BK: ptš; DF: pts'y; J1: ptyk' Y
9- Thus text; TD, BK, Kreyenbroek: mynšn
10- Thus ed.; Text: 'yn' hlt'
11- Thus ed.; Text: HNHTWN- tn' tk'

(Int.18) And I intended to write as the answer below the questions whatever religious knowledge I have, whatever I remember from the ancient authorities, and whatever seems to be rational.

(Int.19) If there is no disagreement about the things you have asked, my opinion is (exactly) such as I write.

(Int.20) Since our knowledge arises from those ancient authorities who were better and wiser and (are) our masters, (spiritual) chiefs and authorities, if they disagree with each other, I have written (my) decision about this subject according to the opinion chiefly held by the authorities of our time and family.

(Int.21) Also, in respect of the statement of a authority of another kind (i.e. not of my time and family) there is no disagreement, and if there is something which seems proper to me, I have accepted it gratefully from a man who is aware of the religion and who knows it and who is adorned with religious knowledge, for the sake of obtaining true knowledge. But I have written in the answer the essence of the truth from the reasonable statements of the early *Dastwars* and whatever was useful to illustrate their judgments.

(Int.22) If a reason is not complete, or a judgment is not clearly perceived, it is not — Heaven forbid! — on account of the incompleteness of the religious judgments as to clear guidance and true meaning, but it is owing to our incomplete guidance in the understanding of the teachings of the religion, and lack of perception, and, even (though) we wished (to be) abundant in knowledge, hasty thinking due to pressure of time.

(Int.23) Therefore even now, apart from essential knowledge, and the gifts of the good spirits, and the explanation of the sacred words, and the teachings of the religion, the clear interpretation of religious practice mostly derives from two sources: one is the interpretation of the principles by the *Āsn Xrad* (: innate wisdom) of the (current) leader of the faithful; and the more important one from the +foundations of the earlier blessed leaders, the great teachers of the faith.

(Int.24) az ān [1] ciyōn ān ī awēšān nibēgān ī abar cim-nimāyišnīh [ud] zofrīh [ud] bārīg-saxwanīh rāy *ōh-iz [2] bārīg-wēnišnān ud *dārmag [3]-dānišnān nē hu-dān [4]: pad andak [ud] frāz-iz padēxīh ī saxwan škeft gumān ī kam āgāhīh-šān [5] šāyēd būd.

(Int.25) owōn abar cim ī im pursišnīhā agar ast ī-tān rōšntar paydāg ud cimīgtar abāyēd nazdīktar rāh ō rāst nigēzišn ud rōšn nē jud ō wizīr ī frazānag pēšōbāy ī dēn. man cand-im dānišn [ud] ādūgīh hamē ka pursēd u-m tuwān pāsoxēnēm.

(Int.26) ka wehān gohrān ēwēnag wistarīd [6] wizīrēnīdār wuzurg sūd xwēš: xwēšagān dōstīh ud drōdīh ud ahlāyīh paymōgīh ud druz nihānēnīdārīh. cē-m ašmā kām kunišn man āgāhēnīdan framāyēd.

(Int.27) u-tān nōg-nōg-iz āfrīn. ān ī-tān xwad andar nāmag pad bun ud sar-iz nibišt jud jud pad xwēš niyābag spurrīg [7] šāyēd šād [ud] burzišnīg frazāmīhād abāg *a-brīd paywastagīhā ī az bun ō frazām ud wēhm-xākān-iz burzišnīg.

(Int.28) pacēn ī pursišn ciyōn pāsox ēd kū ka-š ciš andar nēst ān cim rāy juttar owōn sahēm ciyōn nibēsīhēd.

PURSIŠN 1

(1.1) fradom ān ī pursīd kū mard ī ahlaw az star ud māh ud xwaršēd ud ātaxš ī ohrmazd cē rāy weh dād ēstēd ud andar dēn meh ud weh guft ēstēd az dahišn ī mēnōgīg az-iz ān ī gētīgīg?

(1.2) pāsox ēd kū frāzīh pad xrad rāst wizēngarīh cē dāmān mehīh ud wehīh az hunar bawēd abar dāmān ud hunar ī rāstīh weh ud abzārīh ī xrad meh spās [8] ud yazd kāmišngarīh mādagwartom. cē har(w) 3 āgenēn ham-band-iz [9] cē rāstīh paydāgīh pad xrad u-š sūd kāmišngarīh ī dādār. xrad kāmišngarīh ī *ōy abāyišn ī dādār u-š zēn [10] rāstīh ud kām ī dādār rawāgīh pad xrad abāg rāstīh.

1. Thus Text; Kreyenbroek adds: AYK
2. Thus Kreyenbroek; Text: OL-c
3. Text: šlmk'
4. Thus text
5. Thus Kreyenbroek; Text: 'k'sšn
6. Thus Kreyenbroek, J1; Text: wslyt'
7. Thus BK; Text: wspwlyk'
8. Text: sp'sy
9. All: ME; for. c
10. Thus BK; text has: dyn'

(Int.24) For, as to the explanation of reasons, depth, and subtlety of expression, even (those) people (of today) who have subtle insights and fine learning are not as well-informed as their (the ancients') books, and in their lesser or greater abundance of words there may be a strong hint of their lack of knowledge.

(Int.25) So, about the meaning of the (answers to) these questions, if there be something which should be revealed more clearly and with more reason, there is no nearer way to a true and clear interpretation except by the judgment of the wise leader of the religion. So far as my knowledge and capability allow and I am able, I will always answer whenever you ask.

(Int.26) When the good people (i.e. the faithful) are scattered like jewels, one who is (a religious) interpreter has (=given) great benefits: the love of his people, and well-being, and wearing the cloak of righteousness, and causing the *druz* to disappear. Please let me be informed what it is your wish that I should do.

(Int.27) Many new blessings also (be) upon you! May that which you yourself wrote in the beginning and also at the end of your letter be achieved, (in a form) suitable to each one of you, completely, happily, and in a honourable manner, with unbroken connexion from beginning to end, and worthy of praise in wide realms.

(Int.28) (Here is) a copy of the questions as well as the answers, and if there is nothing about it (i.e. the case) which is opposed to that reasoning, then it appears proper to me as it is written.

QUESTION 1

(1.1) The first +question: why is a +righteous man created better than the stars, moon, sun and fire of Ohrmazd, and is called in the +religion +greater and better than the spiritual creation, and also than that which is material?

(1.2) The reply is this, that furtherance in wisdom (is) the +recognition of what is right, since the greatness and goodness of (some) creatures over (other) creatures arise from ability, and the +ability (to be) right (is) good, and the power to be wise (is) great and the service (of the *yazd*) and the performance of the will of the *yazad* is most essential. For all three are, also, +connected to each other; since the manifestation of truth (is) through wisdom, and its benefit is the performance of the will of the Creator. Wisdom is the performance of his will, (i.e.) what is necessary for the Creator, and its +means (are) truth, and the propagation of the will of the Creator (is) through wisdom together with truth.

(1.3) har(w) 3 andar dāmān meh *u-šān [1] mehmānīh pad pahlomīgān mardān ahlawān mēnōgīhā [2]. pad ān ī abēzag frawahr mēnōg-waxšīhā ō druz kōxšāg ud spōzāg wānāg ud ānābāg ān ī yazdān spāh zōrēnāg ud mēnōg xwadāyīh ī ohrmazd gētīgīhā pad gētīg paymōgīh ud ham-bandīh ī tan gyān.

(1.4) u-šān abzārōmandīh mādayān xrad ud gētīgīg kār pad ān ī xradīg abar gīrišnīh ī humat hūxt ud huwaršt ud be-hilišnīh ud a-rawāgīh ī duš-mat duš-hūxt ud dušxwaršt.

(1.5) *u-šān [3] handāxtār ī gētīgīg xwadāyīh [4] ī ohrmazd win(n)ārāg ud ān ī abēzag dēn win(n)ārāg ud rawāgēnāg ud dādār ī weh ī abēzag stāyīdār ud pad druz ōšīh [5] ēstišnīh framūdār ī pad rawāg-dahišnīh ī ān ī weh-dēn mānsar ud rasišn ī ān weh rist-āxēzišnīh ud fraš(a)gird-kirdārīh ham-ayārīh ud xwēšīg spās abar hamist gētīg dām sālār ud nigāh-dāštār ud rāyēnīdār ud meh ud abardar hēnd.

(1.6) ōh-iz ān mēhīh nē har(w) mardōm be pad pāšomān mardān ī ašōān rāy guft ēstēd. kē-š[ān] andar nazdist ān-iz pāšom 3 hēnd: bun mayān ud frazām ī dahišn.

(1.7) ēk abēzag mard gayōmart kē-š fradom menišnīg stāyēnīdār būd ān ī yazdān.

(1.8) wispān dahišn az bun-āfurišnīh tā abdom frazāmišn ī gētīgīg dām az [6] wehīh-warzišn ī ān ī ōy zahag ud āwādag abar andar dārišn. ī ciyōn hōšang tahmurip jam frēdōn. ciyōn frēstagān ī dēn ciyōn zardušt hušēdar ud hušēdarmāh. ud fraš(a)gird-kirdārān ī ciyōn sōšāns ud rōšncašm ud xwarcašm ud ham-kārān rawāg-dahišnīhā.

(1.9) [ēk ahlaw zardušt kē dēn] [7] padīriftār ud yazdān pad ān ī mēnōg nērōg abēzag stāyišnīhā ud rāst *yaštār [8] ud druz az ān ī gētīg-kirbīhā gētīgīg-kārīh agārēnīdār ud dēn ī abēzag kē-š spurr wehīh ī spenāg mēnōg ud a-wehīh [9] ī gan(n)āg mēnōg az-iš paydāgīh ānābišn ī druz ud pērōzīh frazāmīh ī dādār ud a-kanārag-rawišnīh ī dāmānīhā bawēd mahist burdār.

1. Text: AP-š
2. Text: mynwkyk
3. Text: AP-šn'
4. Emended by ed.; text: hwt'y
5. Thus TD, DF; other MSS. have 'wyhyh.
6. Thus TD; others: MNW
7. Added by ed.
8. Thus others; text and TD: d'št'l
9. Cf. para. 5

(1.3) All three (i.e. wisdom, truth, and the service of *yazd*) are great among the creatures, and their residence is, spiritually, in the foremost righteous men, (for they) strive against *druz*, and reject it, and overcome it, and destroy it (through the help of) pure *frawahr* in the spiritual existence; (and they) strengthen the army of *yazdān*, and the spiritual sovereignty of Ohrmazd in the world by +being clad in a worldly (body) and by (their) combining body and soul.

(1.4) And their essential competence is wisdom, and their worldly activity (consists) in the wise adoption of good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and (in) the abandonment and discontinuance of evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.

(1.5) And amongst them (i.e. righteous men) are the planner and the orderer of the material sovereignty of Ohrmazd, and the orderer and propagator of the pure religion, and the praiser of the good and pure Creator, and the commander of the permanent +destruction of the *druz*, and the propagation of the sacred word of the Good Religion, and the arrival of the good resurrection, and the +making of the renovation, (by) the cooperation and +service of their +own people, the masters and +guardians and directors and (those who are) great and superior over all the creatures of the world.

(1.6) Nevertheless that greatness is not for every man, but it is said of the most excellent righteous men, amongst whom, firstly, these three are the most excellent:+(those at) the beginning, middle and the end of the creation.

(1.7) One is the pure man, Gayōmart, who was the first to praise the *yazdān* with his +mind.

(1.8) All creatures, from the beginning of the creation to the final completion of the material creation, because of his exercise of goodness, are to be regarded as his +offspring and generation, such as +Hōšang, +Tahmurip, Jam, Frēdōn, and such as the apostles of the religion, such as Zardušt, Hušēdar and Hušēdarmāh, and the renovation makers such as Sōšāns, +Rōšncašm, and +Xwarcašm, and (their) collaborators in setting (things) in motion.

(1.9) One is the righteous Zardušt who is the +acceptor of the religion and true worshipper of the *yazdān* with pure praise through spiritual strength, the disabler of the worldly activity of the *druz* by means of worldly bodies, and the greatest bearer of the pure religion, from which the perfect goodness of the Good Spirit and the non-goodness of the Evil Spirit (is) evident, and the expulsion of the *druz* and the completion of the victory of the Creator and the unlimited progress of (his) creatures come to pass.

(1.10) ud pad-iz ān ī gayōmart wehīh kē ān ī zardušt *zāyišn-āfur[1] ast pad-iz ān ī sōšāns wehīh kē-š zardušt zahag ast pad-iz harwisp humat hūxt huwaršt rawāgīhist az dām ud[2] pad dēn ēmēd dād ham-spās.

(1.11) ēk tan kardār frašgar sōšāns kē ān ī druzīhā dēwān ud stāyišnīh ī šān[3] ud kōxšišnīh andar ahlomōgīh ud ag-dēnīh ī sardag-sardag wht' (?) purr-ānābišnīhā az gēhān ānāftār. pad bowandag rawāgīh ī yazdān-stāyišnīh ud spurr-rawāgīh ī ān ī abēzag dēn fraš(a)gird frazāmēnīdār. pad ān ī pāšom kunišn ī an-āhōgēnīdan ī brādarōd abar xwaršēd arwand-asp ud hamist rōšnān ud hamāg wehān ī dāmān xwēšīg spās.

(1.12) cē ān-iz ī ka xwaršēd *rōšnīh[4] az spōzišn ī tār *spīzišn[5] [ī] frāšm ī rōšnēnišn ī gēhān ud tazišn ī rōzān šabān wēnīhēd. ham frazāmišn ī fraš(a)gird rāy andar dēn ī māzdēsnān guft ēstēd kū ēn meh rōšnīh ham mardān ī ašōān paymōgīhēd.

PURSIŠN 2

(2.1) dudīgar ān ī pursīd kū mard ī ašō ō gētīg pad cē kār rāy dād ēstēd u-š andar gētīg pad cē ēwēnag abāyēd būd?

(2.2) pāsox ēn[6] kū dādār dām dād ō rawāggarīh ī-š kām.

(2.3) u-mān abāyēd rawāgēnīd ān ī cē-š kām kū tā windēm[7] ān cē-mān kām. cē ōy xwābar dādār tuwān ān cē-mān kām ī cand ōstīgāntar ēstēm.[8]

(2.4) owōn ciyōn-iš kām arzānīg *ī[9] pad windišn ī ān cē-mān kāmag. ēn dām abd [ud] a-hamtāg āfurīd ēstēd [ud] wēnābdāg.

(2.5) az-iz im abd-afurišnīh paydāg kū āfurāg *spurr[10]-dānāg. kū-š āfurišn pad cim u-š kām wehīh.

1. Text: ʾpwlʾstʹ
2. Text: Y
3. TD: yzdʾn; BK: wyhʾn
4. Text: lwšn
5. Text: spwcšnʹ
6. Thus TD, text; other MSS: HNA
7. Text: HŠKAHWN-m for: HŠKAHWN-ym
8. Thus others; TD, text: YKWYMWN-yt
9. Text: ZY-m
10. Text: wspwl

(1.10) And both for the goodness of Gayōmart +who made (possible) the birth of Zardušt, and also for the goodness of Sōšāns, who is the offspring of Zardušt, and also for the propagation of all good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, through the creation, and for giving hope in the religion (we are) thankful.

(1.11) Firstly: the +producer of bodies, the restorer Sōšāns, who (like) an expeller +*wht'* (?) the world from the *druz* and demons, and their praise, and (their) strife in heresy and various kinds of infidelity, with complete frustration. (Sōšāns is) the completer of the renovation through the complete propagation of the praise of the *yazdān* , and the perfect propagation of the pure religion. For by that most excellent act of purification of his counterpart (i.e. mankind?), the service of his own people (will be) above the swift-horsed sun and all the lights and all good creatures.

(1.12) For just as the light of the sun is visible through the rejection of darkness, the *brightening of the +glow of light, and the course of days and nights, likewise in respect of the completion of the renovation it is said in the Mazdean religion that this +great light is worn (as a garment) by +righteous men.

QUESTION 2

(2.1) The second question: +for what purpose is a righteous man created for the world? And in what manner is it necessary for him to be in the world?

(2.2) The reply is this, that the Creator created the creatures for the propagation of his wish.

(2.3) And we must +propagate whatever is his wish, so that we may obtain whatever is our wish. For, the beneficent Creator can fulfil whatever is our wish, as long as we remain very steadfast.

(2.4) This creation has been created wonderful and unique and visible so as to be worthy of his wish, for the fulfilment of what we wish.

(2.5) Also, it is clear from the fact that the creation is wonderful that the Creator is +all-knowing, (and) that his act of creation was intentional, and (that) his wish is goodness.

(2.6) ka cimīg-āfurišnīh ī-š dām wēhīh-iz ī-š kām ēwar az-iz spurr tuwānīgīh ī dādār dām [1] āfurīd paydāg.

(2.7) pas wizīrīhist az xrad kū-š afurīd dām ō bowandag-rawāgīh ī-š kām pad spurrēnīd tā wattarīh bawēd.

(2.8) cē ka wattarīh ast [2] wehīh ānābišn ī wattarīh bawēd cē kē wattarīh nē spurrīg. pas cimīg gowīhēd kū-š dām dād ō xwēš kāmag rawāgīh: ī az wattarīh ānābtagīhā wehīh spurrēnīd rāy.

(2.9) ham-gugāyīhist abāg ān ī pēšēnīgān guft kū āfurīhist dām ō kāmišngarīh ī dādār.

(2.10) ān ī dādār kāmišngarīh bagīhist ō dō ī ast parastišn kunišn [ud] kōxšišn.

(2.11) <ī> ciyōn parastišn ān ī dādār ī xwābar kē dōst ō xwēš dām kōxšišn ān ī abāg druz ī kōxšīdār kē dušmen ī ō dahišn ī dādār.

(2.12) ān wuzurg paristišn [ud] kōxšišn-iz ī [3] abardom paymān ī xwēštan nazdīktom paymān ī ō āzādīh az dōstīh [ī] āfurāg ud must ī az dušmen ī kōxšīdār. kadār-iz-ē(w) margōmandān abar-estišn ayāftārān meh tuxšišn.

(2.13) cē ka xwābarān [4] spurrtom purr-abdīhā passāxt <ī> dahišn ī xwadāy ā-š a-jumbišn stī pad abar rasišnīh ī jumb[āg] gan(n)āg mēnōg [5] jumbišn a-wēnišnīg mēnōg a-gumēzišn ō wēnābdāg stī ud wēnišnīg nimūnag [6] mēnōg-waxšag ruwān andar gētīg-rawišnīg tan nēk xwadāy kard [7]. u-š gyān[8] zīwēnāg ud frawahr ī dārāg ud wīr ī ayābāg ud ōš ī pāyāg ud xrad ī wizēnāg ud cihr ī xwad bizešk [ud] zōr ī rāyēnāg. ud cašm az dīdan gōš az āšnūdan wēnīg az hambōy<īh>īdan dahān az mizag dānistan ud kirb az pahrmāyišn [9] *ōmārdan [10] [ud] dil az menīdan uzwān az guftan dast az warzīdan pāy az raftan. ēd kē gyān frāxēnīdan ud waxšišn [11] ī xōn *pōyīdan (?) [12] ēd

1- Emended by ed.; all MSS: k'm
2- Thus BK; text: 'ytwn' Y
3- Thus K35; text: cnd
4- Thus K35; text: hw'plšn; TD: hw'pwl'n; J1, J2 H: hw'ply
5- Thus all; text: ywmbyn w'y mynwk...
6- J2, H, BK: mnwk
7- Text: krtn'
8- Text: HA for: HYA
9- Text: ptl'm'šn'
10- Text: 'wmt'ltn'
11- Thus J1, J2, H, DF; BK: wn'ššn; text: wn'yh'n (?)
12- Text: hwn pwštn; K35: 'n PWN d'tn'; J2, H, DF: hwpwštn'; J1: gwp wyxtn'.

(2.6) Since the creation of his creatures was intentional (and) also the goodness of his desire is certain, it is evident that he created the creatures for the sake of the omnipotence of the Creator.

(2.7) Then, it is + decided by wisdom that he created the creation for the complete propagation of his wish, (and) to fulfil (his wish) as long as evil exists.

(2.8) +For, as long as evil exists, good dispels evil, +because evil is not perfect. Then, it is said that he created the creation on purpose for the propagation of his own will in order to +complete the good by dispelling evil.

(2.9) (This) is in agreement with what the ancients said, (namely) that the creatures were created for the performance of the Creator's desire.

(2.10) The performance of the will of the Creator is +divided into two (components), these are: the practice of worship, (and) battle.

(2.11) In as much as worship is that of the beneficent Creator, who is a friend to his own creatures, (and) the battle is that with the warring *druz*, who is an enemy to the creation of the +Creator.

(2.12) That great worship (and) also (that) superior battle are a +pledge to one's self, the foremost pledge for +freedom (arising) from the friendship of the Creator and a complaint against the enemy fighting (against one); each is a great endeavour of men who obtain the +superior existence.

(2.13) For when the most beneficent and perfect Creator achieved the creation of the Lord in the wholly wonderful way, with the attack of the Evil Spirit, (he changed) the static existence into a dynamic spiritual +world. As a conspicuous +example, (he changed) the +invisible (and) unmingled spirit into a visible one. He placed the growing spirit of the +soul as a virtuous lord in the body so that it may move in the material world. He announced and adorned the +animating life, and the preserving *+frawahr*, and the +acquisitive memory, and the protecting intelligence, and the discerning wisdom, and the +self-healing nature, (and) the organising power; (he announced and adorned) the eye to see, the ear to hear, the nose to smell, the mouth to recognise flavours, the body to +feel a +touch, the +heart to think, the tongue to speak, the hand to practise, the foot to walk. These (faculties) which cause improvement of the soul and +the increase of the flow of the blood (?), these which are related to the body, these which are regarded as to

kē tan paywastan ēd kē frahixtag dārišn rawāg rāyēnīd [ī] xwēš-kārīh. hamist ō[1] tan abzārān gyān-kārīgīhā wirāyīhēd. pad frārōn dādīh humat hūxt ud huwaršt ud pādāšn ī ān rōšngar ud hamēīg nēk-rawišnīh niwēyēnīd ud payrāst. ān frēzwānīg abar windādār mardōmān rāst bowandagīh ī xwēš ud drust wimand dāštan abardom xwadāyīh ī dādār nē framuštan pad rawāggarīh ī-š kām ō ōy wisp-weh dōst abēzag stāyīdār ud abēzag spās-dār būdan.

(2.14) ciyōn dōstīh ī abēzag az ēwar menišnīgīh pad har(w) nēkīh <ī> az-iš būd ud ēc anāgīh az-iš nē būd. stāyīdārīh abēzag az stāyišn ī pad har(w) wehīh az-iš būd ud ēc[2] wattarīh az-iš nē būd. spās-dārīh ī abēzag az hamāg ābādīh az-iš būd ud ēc must az-iš nē būd.

(2.15) wābarīgān wizīr ham abēzag dōstīh rāst stāyīdārīh ud cimīg spās-dārīh ōstīgānīhēd *kunīhēd[3] pad-iz ān ī ka wahman pad menišn srōš pad gōwišn ard pad kunišn mehmān dārīhēd.

(2.16) ōh-iz mehmān ī wahman pad menišn az dil wehīhā ō rāst šnāyišnī[h] nixwārišnīgīh [ud] az waranīgīhā [ud] xwad-dōšagīh dūr dāštan. srōš mehmānīh ī pad gōwišn az ān ī āgāh ī rāst guftār ān ī an-āgāh az rāst dastwarān niyōxšīdār būdan. ard mehmānīh ī pad kunišn az ān ī wehīh dānīhēd rāyēnāg ān ī nē dānēd pahrēzāg būdan paydāgīhīdan.

(2.17) ēd se wehīh ī ōšmurd parwastag andar dō rāh ī pēšēnīgān guft ī ast dānišnīg griftan [ud] dānišnīg hištan. ī-š abzārīh xrad [ud] frārōn tuxšāgīh. u-š dastwar ān ī rāyēnīdārīh ān abāg dēn ī yazdān rāstīhā dāštan. u-š bun abēzag-menišnīh ī rāstīhā pad wahmanīgīhā wehīh.

(2.18) ciyōn pēšēnīgān dēnīgān dēnīgīhā guft kū: kē[4] ān ī wahmanīg wehīh pad menišn mehmān dārēd ēg-iš ān ī weh mēnōg rāh ī rāst nimāyēd[5] pad rāh ī rāst kāmag ī dādār šnāsēd ud pad kāmišngarīh ī dādār waxšēd [ud] windēd kē nēkīh ī fraš(a)girdīg ayābēd.[6]

(2.19) hangirdīgtar pāsox ēd kū mard ī ahlaw[7] dām ast kē-š grift ān xwēš-kārīh ī awiš āfurīhist. u-š andar gētīg pad nē *ēc[8] frēbīhistan ī hāzāngar druz purr pās. pad wizīdārīh az xrad ān ī dādār kām kē

1. Text: ʾw
2. Text: ʾc
3. Text: O<u>B</u>YD[W]N-yhyt; TD: ʾdntyhyt'
4. Thus text; others: MN
5. Test: nmʾyst'
6. Thus BK; text has: ʾhʾcyt'
7. BK: ʾšwk'
8. Text: LA- yc; J1, J2, H om. -yc

be trained to propagate the functions (?), all +these were arranged together with the +instruments of the body in a manner promoting the activity of life. Through the righteous laws of good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, he announced and arranged the reward of the illuminator (i.e. Zardušt) and the virtuous conduct. (Thus) it (is) incumbent on truth-seeking men to maintain the proper +boundary of their true perfection, (and) not to forget the supreme sovereignty of the Creator. And through propagation of that which is his wish, they should be pure glorifiers and pure praisers of that all-good friend.

(2.14) As pure friendship has arisen from constant meditation on every virtue, and no harm has arisen from it; pure praising has arisen from the praise of every goodness, and no wickedness has arisen from it; (and) pure gratitude has arisen from all +prosperity and no complaint has arisen from it.

(2.15) (By) +performing trustworthy judgment (and) the same pure friendship, true praise, and hearty gratitude he is steadfast, just as if Wahman resides in (his) +thoughts, Srōš in (his) speech, and Ard in (his) action.

(2.16) Thus, the residence of +Wahman in thought (is clear) from hastening the heart to a true propitiation, (and) keeping it away from lusts (and) self love. The residence of +Srōš in speech (is clear) from (the fact that) he who is aware of what is true, speaks; and he who is unaware of what is true, listens to the + priests. The residence of Ard in action is clear from the arrangement of what is known as goodness, (and) the avoidance of what he does not know.

(2.17) These three virtues which have been counted are contained in two ways that the ancients have mentioned. These are wisely accepting (and) wisely leaving; their means are wisdom and righteous endeavour, and their custom is to arrange and to keep it truly with the religion of the *yazdān* , and their origin (is) the pure meditation which is (to keep it) truly through Wahman's goodness.

(2.18) For, wisely, the ancient religious men have said that to him who resides in the goodness of Wahman in thought the good spirit (i.e. Wahman) shows the right way. By the right way he understands the will of the Creator, and through performing the will of the Creator he increases and finds that which brings best the goodness of the restoration.

(2.19) A more concise reply is this: that a righteous man is a creature who has accepted that responsibility which is provided for him, and is completely watchful in the material world in order not to be deceived by the +inciting

xwad šnāyēnīdārīh šnāxtār ān ī wehīh šnāxtag rawāgēnīdār az cē awiš az-iš pahrēzīhīdār u-š ēdōn abāyēd būdan ciyōn ān mehīh ud wehīh pad-iz mēnōg ōstīgāntar bawēd.

PURSIŠN 3

(3.1) sidīgar pursišn ān ī pursīd kū mard ī ašō ēn mehīh cē cim rāy ast?

(3.2) pāsox ēd kū māzdēsn kāmišngarīh ī dādār rāy. cē tāšīdan a-gumān kū rāh ī ō kāmišngarīh ī dādār šnāyišn ī-š kām. ud ān kām šnāyišnīh pad xrad ī drust drust bawēd. ān ī xrad kē-š kām [ī] mēnōgān yazdān abar šnāsēd nē wht[1](?) be dēn ī rāst ī abēzag ī ast mēnōgān dānišn ud [2] frahangān frahang ud *awestādān [3] awestādīh ud tōhmag [4] ī wisp dānišnān. ān-iz ī abēzag <i> dēn ī māzdēsnān rawāgīh pad mard ī ašō.

(3.3) ī ciyōn-iš nimūd pad dēn kū: man dād spitāmān zardušt! mard ī ašō ī kat [5] xrad. u-š be pāyēm menišn az duš-mat uzwān az duš-hūxt u-š be pāyēm dast az dušxwaršt. u-š hāzēnēm tā ō ān ī pas ašō ī dānāg ī kat xrad. u-š *hamē [6]-ōšmur dēn kē-š dād xwēšēnišn ī dahibed windišn ī ast dēn-burdār ī dānāg ī az zamānag ō zamānag tā-z ō ān abdom axwān wardēnišn *kē [7] hu-tāšīd fraš(a)gird.

(3.4) ciyōn pad xrad dād ān ī ahlāyīh gēhān ud pad xrad ānābīhēd har(w) wattarīh ud pad xrad spūrrīgīhēd har(w) wehīh pahlom xrad ī dēn ī abēzag kē-š rawāgīh pad dēn burdārān. ān āfurīhist mehīh ī pahlomān mardān ī ašōgān kē andar wht' [8] (?) ān ī ciyōn nimūd abar gayōmart ud zardušt ud sōšāns.

PURSIŠN 4

(4.1) 4-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū ēn zaxm ud tars ī-mān [9] az āwām pādixšāyān ud abārīg anāgīh ud āhōg ī weh-dēnīg *kār [10] hamē rasēd u-š dādestān cē ēwēnag bawēd? u-mān pad mēnōgān weh-dādestānīh ast ayāb nē?

1. Thus text, BK, TD; J1, J2, H, DF: ʾtʹ
2. Text: Y
3. Text: ʾwstʾtwyhʾnʹ
4. Thus BK, DF; text: twhmakwyh
5. Thus text, BK, TD; J1, J2, DF; H: krtʾ
6. Text: hm
7. Text: MN
8. Thus text; TD, BK: ʾtʹ
9. J1, J2, H, DF: zmʾnʹ
10. Text: KALA; others: dynʹ kʾlʾy

druz. By choosing the will of the Creator through wisdom he is himself the understander of propitiation (of Ohrmazd) and the propagator of what is known as goodness, and the +avoider of what (he does not know). He should live thus, so that such greatness and goodness may also be more stable in the spiritual existence.

QUESTION 3

(3.1) The third question: why does the righteous man have such greatness?

(3.2) The answer is this: for the performance of the will of the Creator by the Mazda-worshipper. For (as for) creation, (it is) beyond doubt that the way to the performance of the will of the Creator (is) the +satisfaction of his will. And the satisfaction of (his) will becomes complete through complete wisdom. The wisdom by which one understands the will of the *yazdān* is not +wht (?) to the true and pure religion which includes knowledge of the spirits, the culture of cultured people, the expertise of all experts and the seed of all knowledge. And the propagation of the pure religion of the Mazdeans is also (done) by the righteous man.

(3.3) As he (i.e. Ohrmazd) has revealed in the religion: O Spitāmān Zardušt! I created the righteous man who is +desirous of wisdom, and I will protect his mind from evil thought, his tongue from evil words, and I will protect his hands from evil deeds. I will make him succeed in becoming righteous, learned and desirous of wisdom till the end. And ever-mindful of the religion which he gave him the ownership of ruling (?) and the finding of one who is wise and responsible for the religion at all times, until the turning-point of the final existence which is the well-created renovation.

(3.4) As the world of righteousness was created through wisdom, and every evil is destroyed through wisdom, and every good is completed through wisdom, so the best wisdom of the pure religion, which is its propagation by the faithful, was created (as) the greatness of the best +righteous men of the *+wht'* (?), as has been revealed concerning Gayōmart, Zardušt, and Sōšāns.

QUESTION 4

(4.1) The fourth question: how must one judge +the damage and fear which affect us because of the rulers of the time and other evils and blights on the people of the Good Religion? Are we judged well by the spiritual beings or not?

(4.2) pāsox ēd kū andar dēn ī māzdēsnān guft ēstēd kū rāh-bandīh[1] kē-š pad ahlāyīh bēš ciyōnīh[2] ēn wizārišn ast kū ān saxtīh ud andōh ī duš-xwārag[3] ī pad kirbag rawāgēnīd rāy rasēd nē pad saxtīh ud ranj ud duš-xwārag ī was abāyēd hangārd.

(4.3) ī ka nē pad andōh ud saxtīh abāyēd hangārd ēg-iš az-iš paydāgīhēd[4] kū[5] pad ān pādāšn ān and āsānīh ud rāmišn be ō ruwān rasēd ciyōn nē kas az ān saxtīh ud duš-xwārīh ī-š pad hāwand ī ān kirbag abar mad az ān ciyōn dēn ī weh ōstīgān dāštan[6] menēd stāyēd u-š pad-iš ēstēd ēwar kū kirbag andar kirbagān mādayān.

(4.4) ān har(w) tars ud *wišayg[7] ud duš-xwārīh ī-mān im weh-dēn dāštan rāy az hamēstārān ī dēn abar rasēd mihr ī dēn rāy be gugārēm. ud az dēn *wardišnīh[8] andar yazdān a-burd-šnōhr nē bawēm. ēg-imān hāwandīh [ī] spās passazagīhā rasēd az yazdān ō ruwān: šnāyišn <ī> urwāhm āsānīh ud xwārīh.

PURSIŠN 5

(5.1) 5-om ān ī pursīd kū cē rāy wehān anāgīh wēš hamē rasēd kū ō wattarān?

(5.2) pāsox ēd kū nē har(w) hangām ud har(w) gāh nē har(w) wehān anāgīh wēš rasēd. cē mēnōgīg wēš nēkīh ī wehān ēwar. be gētīgīg ud abērtar andar *wad[9]-zamānīh[10] amaragānīhā anāgīh ud bēš abar wehān wēš paydāgtar.

(5.3) u-š cim was ēk ī hangirdīg ēn-iz kū dar [ud] wihān ī rasišn wēš. cē rasišn[11] ī anāgīh az dō dar abērtar: az dēwān ī anāgīh baxtārān ēk az wattarān [ī] anāgīh-kardārān ēk.

(5.4) ud agar ōh-iz jahišnīg wattarīh wattarān bēš dārēnd pas-iz amaragānīhā anāgīh ī ō wattarān az dēwān ud ān ī ō wehān az dēwān ud az wattarān-iz rasēd. u-š pad im rāh ī rasišn ēwēnag be gāh dō.

1- Text: bndyh
2- Text: cygwnš
3- J1, J2, H, DF: dwšw'lk'
4- TD: pyt'kynyt'
5- Thus TD, DF; others: AYK-š
6- Thus TD, K35, text; others: dh't'
7- Text: syc; J1, DF: wyhk'; J2: wyhyk'; H: wyhy
8- Text: wltšnyk
9- Text: slwš for: SLYA
10- All MSS: zym'nyh for: zm'nyh
11- Thus all; TD: lsšnyh

(4.2) The answer is this, that it is said in the Mazdeans' religion that this is the explanation for the obstructions which appear harmful to righteousness (lit. to which (is) the manner of harm): the difficulty and disagreeable sorrow which occurs through propagation of virtue should not be considered as a great difficulty and trouble and discomfort.

(4.3) If it should not be considered as sorrow and difficulty then it is revealed thereby that as recompense for that (trouble) so much peace and pleasure will come to the soul, so that no-one will think of that difficulty and discomfort which come upon him as a counterpart of (his) piety, through his steadfastly keeping the Good Religion, (but) will give praise and stand assured that this virtue is (the most) essential amongst virtues.

(4.4) For the sake of love of religion we digest all that fear, +anxiety and discomfort which is done to us by the opponents of religion, because of (our) keeping this Good Religion, and we are not ungrateful to the *yazdān* for changing our religion; then (as) the counterpart of our service (to the *yazdān*), satisfaction, joy, peace and ease will come, as is fitting, to (our) souls from the *yazdān*.

QUESTION 5

(5.1) The fifth question: why does harm always happen to good people more often than to bad people.

(5.2) The answer is this, that not at every time and every place and not to all good people does harm happen more often. For, in the spiritual world, the advantage of good people is assured, but in the material world and even more in +an evil time harm and pain to the virtuous are by and large more evident.

(5.3) And the reasons for this are many; in short, even the manner and the cause of the occurrence (of harm) are more; for the occurrence of harm takes place mostly in two ways: one through the demons, the bestowers of harm, and one through evil people, the doers of harm.

(5.4) (As for) the wicked, even if (it is) possible (that) evil people suffer harm, yet in general harm happens to evil people only through the demons and to good people through the demons and also through evil people; and in this way, the manner of its coming (is) +twofold.

(5.5) ēn-iz abērtar ēdōn ciyōn pēšēnīgān guft kū weh kār ranj abērtar pad gētīg u-šān mizd pādāšn ī ēwarīgtar pad mēnōg ud wattarān āsānīh ud rāmišn pad gētīg wēš u-šān dard ud pādifrāh ī pad mēnōg garāntar.

(5.6) ud ēn-iz ast [1] kū wehān tars ī az dard ud pādifrāh ī az dušox rāy āsānīh ud xwārīh ī pad gētīg hilēnd. ciš-iz abārōnīh nē menē[n]d ud gōwē[n]d ud kunēnd. ēmēd ī ō ān ī āsānīh ud rāmišn pad wahišt rāy was ranj ud tars ī pad frārōn warzīdārīh ī pad menišn gōwišn ud kunišn kāmagīhā ō grīw padīrēnd.

(5.7) ud wattarān ruzdīh [2] ī pad rāmišn ī [3] zamānīg rāy ān-iz rāmišn ī abārōnīhā ī-š *padisārīg dušox ast ēg-iš xwēš-tan zamānīgīhā pad-iš rāmēnēnd [4] ud waranīgīh ud xwad-dōšagīh rāy ān-iz kār kē-š rāh ī ō wahišt pad-iš šāyēd būdan xwēš-tan pad-iš nē ranjēnd.

(5.8) ud pad ēd rāh andar gētīg wattarān āsānīh [ud] rāmišn frāy ud wehān andōh ud bēš ud zarīg ud anāgīh wēš bawēd [5] dīdār[ī]g paydāg cim.

PURSIŠN 6

(6.1) 6-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū ēn mardōm be ō gētīg cē rāy dād ēstēd? u-mān andar cē abāyēd kard?

(6.2) pāsox ēd kū pad-iz pāsox ī im pursišn nibišt kū dām āfurīhist be rāstīh kāmišngarīh ī dādār ud purr wehīhā win(n)ārdan ī ān ī a-kanārag [ud] nēk-rawišnīh ī dāmān kē-š bīm [ud] bēš ciyōn ast fraš(a)gird ī a-brādarōd ān ī win(n)ārišn bawēd az spurr pādixšāyīh ī dādār [ud] a-pādixšāyīh ī druz.

(6.3) ciyōn-iš guft pad dēn kū: andar ān zamān spurr pādixšāy bawēm man kē ohrmazd hēm [ud] nē pad ciš-iz pādixšāy bawēd gan(n)āg mēnōg.

(6.4) ud abar-iz nēk-rawišnīh ī dām ud dahišnīh ōšmurd kū: nēk man! ka-m ēdōn dām dād ciyōn man. kadār-iz-ē(w) kāmag ō man xwadāyīh

1. DF: ʾytwn
2. Thus TD, DF; text, J1, J2, H: wlwzdyh
3. J2, H, DF: add ʾpʾlwnyhʾ ZY-š
4. J2, H, DF: lʾmynd
5. Thus TD; others: YHWWN-tʾ

(5.5) Moreover, as (our) predecessors have said, the troubles of good people are much more in the material world, and their most certain reward and compensation are in the spiritual world. On the other hand the peace and pleasure of the evil ones are more in the material world, and their pain and punishment are heavier in the spiritual world.

(5.6) And this is also (true), that good people abandon the comfort and +peace of the material world because of fear of the pain and punishment of hell; (therefore) they do not think, speak, or commit any sin. For the sake of (their) hope of comfort and pleasure they willingly accept much trouble and fear in practising virtue in thought, word and deed.

(5.7) Evil people, because of (their) lust for +immediate pleasure, even that sinful pleasure whose +conclusion is hell, enjoy themselves in it +temporarily and for the sake of lust and self-indulgence they do not trouble themselves with that work which might take them to heaven.

(5.8) And in this way, in the material world, the comfort and pleasure of the evil ones are more, and the grief, sorrow, and pain of the good (people) are greater; and the reason for this is clearly manifest.

QUESTION 6

(6.1) The sixth question: why are men created in the world? And what should we do in it?

(6.2) The answer is this: in reply to this question it has been written that the creatures were created +for righteousness, for the performance of the will of the Creator, and for putting in perfect order the boundless and good progress of the creatures which are afraid and uneasy (as to) how the unique renovation will be. (Then there) will be order as a (result of) the complete rule of the Creator and the powerlessness of *druz*.

(6.3) As He (i.e. Ohrmazd) said in the religion (i.e. Avesta): 'In that time (i.e. renovation) I, who am Ohrmazd, will be the supreme ruler and the Evil Spirit will be the ruler of nothing'.

(6.4) And also, about the good progress of the creatures and creation He thought: 'It was good for me that I created the creatures in +my image! whenever they consent to my sovereignty, sovereignty +comes (into being)

dahēnd xwadāyīh-iz āyēd[1] ka ō kāmišngarīh ī pad-iz mehēnišn[2] ī-š xwadāyīh dād ēstēm.[3]

(6.5) u-mān andar gētīg ēdōn abāyēd būd ciyōn-mān rāst-bowandagīh[4] ī xwēš abardom xwadāyīh ī dādār drust-wimandtar dāšt bawēd.

(6.6) rāh ī ō ān ī rāst-bowandagīh pad xrad dānīhēd pad rāstīh wābarīhēd [ud] pad wehīh sūdīhēd.

(6.7) u-š widarag ī awiš abērtar weh mēnōg rāstīhā pad menišn gāh kardan dānišnīgīhā griftan dānišnīgīhā hištan.

(6.8) ciyōn pad dēn gowīhēd kū ohrmazd be ō zardušt guft kū: wahman pad axw ī tō abēzag abāgēnē kū-š mehmān be *kunē[5] cē ka wahman pad axw ī tō abēzag abāgēnē kū-š mehmān be *kunē[6] ēdōn dō rāh be dānē kē hu-rawišn ud kē-z duš-rawišn.

PURSIŠN 7

(7.1) 7-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū ka mard-ē widarān bawēd pas az widerān būdan ī ōy kirbag-ē kas ōy rāy kunēd kē az gētīg be šud[7] ēstēd pad šab ī sidīgar andar bāmīg[8] be ō tarāzūg šawēd ēg-iš ciyōn awiš šawēd ud frayādēd? ēdōn ciyōn ān mehīh ī pad dast ī xwēš kard ēstēd ayāb any ēwēnag?

(7.2) pāsox ēd kū ka kas ōy ī be widardag rāy pas az be widerišnīh kirbag kunēd[9] agar ōy ī be widardag andar zīndagīh ān kirbag nē framūd u-š nē handarzēnīd ud nē bun kard u-š nē-z pad jād būd ēg-iš be ō tarāzūg nē šawēd ud nē rasēd.

(7.3) pad-iz hangām [ī] rawāgīhist *nē[10] (?) ka ān kirbag kē-š nē frayādēd nē xwēšīhēd cē ān ī pad jād ī az kas xwēšīhēd [ud ān ī] pad padīrišnīh [ī] az kas xwēšīhēd ka-š nē pad jād ēg-iš nē padīrift bawēd.

1. All MSS: ʾyynd; but ed. has emended to: hwtʾyh cʾšynd (?)
2. Thus J1, J2, DF; text: msʾnšn
3. DF: YKWYMWN-ytʾ
4. All MSS. bwndkyh but ed. has emended to: bndkyh
5. Text: OBYDWN-d
6. Text: OBYDWN-d
7. Text: OZLWN-yt
8. Text: bʾmy
9. Text: OBYDWN-nd; emended by ed.
10. Text: lʾd

also, since (he thinks) 'I was created in order to do (His) will by increasing His sovereignty'.

(6.5) And for us in the material world it must be in accordance with our own true perfection. (This) is kept within +proper limits (by) the supreme sovereignty of the Creator.

(6.6) The way to true perfection is known through wisdom, and is believed through truth, and becomes fruitful through goodness;

(6.7) and the entry to (this way) is, above all, the good spirit: rightly to give (it) a place in one's mind, wisely to take (the good way), wisely to avoid (the bad way).

(6.8) As is said in the religion: +Ohrmazd said to Zardušt: +may Wahman be a pure companion in your mind where you make him a guest! For if Wahman is a pure companion in your mind where you make him a guest, you will know the two ways, both the good way and the evil way.

QUESTION 7

(7.1) The seventh question: when a man is passing away, after his passing away, how do the good deeds which another does for him go to him and help him who has left the world, on the dawn of the +third night, at which he goes to the +balance? And is its greatness such as what was done by his own hand, +or otherwise?

(7.2) The answer is this: when anyone does a good deed for one who has passed away, after his death, if he who has died did not +order that good deed and did not +put it in his will and did not +bequeath it in his lifetime, and also if it was not (done) +by means of his property, then it does not go into the balance and does not reach him.

(7.3) Also at the time when it is not put into effect (it does not reach him), since that good deed which he did not assist does not belong to him; for if that which is appropriated (as his) by means of property from someone else and that which is appropriated (as his) by means of what is received from someone else is not (done) by means of his (own) property then it is not accepted as his (good deed).

(7.4) agar ān kirbag ōy widardag nē framūd ud u-š nē-z handarzēnīd be-š pad jād ham-dādestān būd ān [ī] andar zīndagīh kunīhād ēg-iš pad sedōš be ō abzōn ī gāh rasēd ān ī pas az widardagīh kunīhēd nē pad āmār ī sedōš ud tarāzūg be pad hangām ī kirbag rawāgīhēd be ō rāmišn ī ruwān rasēd.

(7.5) agar ān ī kirbag ī ōy widardag andar zīndagīh ī xwēš framūd ayāb-iš handarzēnīd ayāb bun kardār ud wihān ī ruwān warzīdārīh būd ka pas az be widerišnīh rawāgīhēd ēg-iš be ō rāmēnīdārīh ī-š ruwān rasēd. cē bun ī spās framūdār ud xwēšīg [ī] kirbagīh ēwar.[1]

(7.6) cegām-iz-ēw kirbag ī rawāgīhēd andar ān ī *anagrān[2] rōšnīhā abāg ōy ī kardār ham-kirbag. u-š pad āmār ī ruwān kirbag abāg ōy kē kard hāwand. be ān ī kē-š kirbag pad dast ī xwēš kard az ān ī kē-š framūd ruwān hu-cihrtar ud amāwandtar.

(7.7) u-š hangōšīdag owōn ciyōn ka mard-ē wastarag-ē dastag ī pad hu-cihr abāyišnīg awiš pad tan dārēd any mard-ē wistarg-ē dastag ī pad ham ēwēnag xwēš pad ganj dārēd ud hu-cihrtar bāmīgtar ud abāyišnīgtar bawēd.

PURSIŠN 8

(8.1) 8-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū ān ī-š az xwāstag ī xwad be ō kas framūd kū-š[3] pad ruwān uzēnag-ē kunēd tā ān kas ōy rāy kunēd az ān xwāstag ud ranj kardan ī xwēš ēk az did juttar ast ayāb nē?

(8.2) pāsox ēd kū ēk az did juttar cē ān ī az xwāstag ī xwēš framāyēd mādagwartar kū ān kas be az framāyišn ī ōy rāy kunēd.

(8.3) andar ēwēnag ī kirbag ān mādagwartar ī xwad pad xwēš ranj warzēd ud pas az ān ī az xwēš-iz pad xwēš framāyišn <ē> rawāgēnēd ud pas ān ī xwad pas az xwēš rāy handarzēnēd [ud] framāyēd be ō rawāgīh rasēd ud pastar ān ī kas ōy rāy kunēd.

[1] Thus West; the editor has put ēwar at the beginning of next para.
[2] Text: ʾmʾlglʾn
[3] Thus TD; others: AYK-m

(7.4) If he who has passed away did not order that good deed, and did not also give instructions for it, but it (i.e. the good deed) was (done) by means of his property and (it was) in comformity with what may have been done (by him) in his lifetime, (then it) reaches (him) on the +*Sedōš* (i.e. the fourth day after death) to improve his position; That (good deed) which may have been done after his passing away does not come into account on the fourth day after death and into the balance, but reaches (him) for the pleasure of (his) soul at the time when the good deed is put into operation.

(7.5) If he who has passed away ordered that good deed, or willed it, or if he is the founder and the cause of practising it for his soul, although it may have been put into effect after his passing away, it reaches him for the pleasure of his soul: for it is certain who ordered the pious foundation and who owns the good deed.

(7.6) Whatever good deed may be put into practice is consubstantial, amongst the +endless lights, with him who is the doer of it; and at the weighing of his soul the good deed is identical with him who did it; +but the soul of one who performed the good deed by his own hand is more beautiful and powerful than that of the one who ordered it.

(7.7) And its likeness is such as when a man is wearing his beautiful and fitting suit of clothes; and he is more handsome and more brilliant and fitting than another man who has a suit of clothes in the same manner in his +wardrobe.

QUESTION 8

(8.1) The eighth question: (if) one orders a person to expend from one's own wealth for one's soul (after one is dead), or if a person does this from that wealth of his own accord (lit. from his own toil) (without being ordered), is the one (thing) different from the other or not?

(8.2) The reply is this: one is different from the other; for that which one orders from one's own wealth is more important than that which others may do for one without an order.

(8.3) Amongst the various types of good deed, that is most important which one does oneself by one's own effort; and then that which one put into effect out of one's own (property) by one's own order, and then that which one wills and orders to be put into effect after one's death; and +lastly that which others may do for one.

(8.4) ciyōn-iš ēdōn xwēš ān ī-š pad jād ka kas ōy rāy *andar-iš [1] zīndagīh rāyēnēd ēg-iš gāh abzāyēd [ud] ruwān bōzīhēd. ka pas az ōy ōy rāy rāyēnēd ēg-iš rāmišn be ō ruwān rasēd. ka pad ān kirbag nē ham-dādestān u-š nē pad jād ka-z kas ōy rāy kunēd ēg-iš be ō xwēšīh nē rasēd.

PURSIŠN 9

(9.1) 9-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū waxš [2] ī kirbag<ē> az ān ī ka kirbag kard ēstēd tā ān ī ka zīndag cand abzāyēd?

(9.2) pāsox ēd kū az ān ī ka kirbag be ō rawāgīh rasēd waxš andar ō abzāyišn ēstēd tā ka zīndag. be ka-š ān ī kirbag az-iš be ābārīhēd <tā waxš ī> waxš [3] abāz nē ēstēd. ēdōn waxšēd ciyōn frazand andar aškamb ī mādarān abzāyēd bawēd.

PURSIŠN 10

(10.1) 10-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū waxš ī abzāyēd pad šab ī tasum ēdōn frayādišnīg bawēd bun ī kirbag pad xwadīh ayāb juttar bawēd?

(10.2) pāsox ēd kū juttar cē bun ī kirbag padīrag [ī] wināh be ēstēd ud waxš ī kirbag padīrag [ī] waxš ī wināh be ēstēd.

PURSIŠN 11

(11.1) 11-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū waxš ī kirbag wināh ēdōn kanēd ciyōn ān ī kirbag ī bun ayāb nē?

(11.2) pāsox ēd kū be *ōh[4] kanēd wināh.[5] ciyōn ān ī kirbag rasēd tā wināh wizārišnīh rāy ud pad tōzišn ī wināh rāy kunīhēd [6] ān wināh kanēd ī andar dēn nāmcištīg guft ēstēd. ēg-iš abārīg kirbag gāh ī ruwān paydāg būdan rāy abāg wināh ī pad bun ēstēd ō āmār kunīhēd.

(11.3) pad kirbag ud waxš ī kirbag ruwān pādāšn. tā ān <ī> kirbag <tā> wināh wizārišnīgīh kunēd [ud] wināh kanēd [7] [8] guft ēstēd.

1- Text: BYN ʾP-š
2- All MSS: wyš
3- BK omits: Y whš
4- Text: OL
5- DF wnʾh for: wnʾs; TD, text: HPLWN-yt ʾh; W HPLWN-yt ʾh; J1, J2, H, K35: HPLWN-yt whš
6- Text: OBYDWN-Ø-yhytʾ
7- Thus DF, BK; text: HPLWN-tʾ
8- Thus BK; text, DF: lʾd; others: LA

(8.4) So long as that (good deed) which someone arranges for his sake by means of his property during his lifetime is really his, then it improves his position (and) his soul is saved. If someone arranges (it) for him after his lifetime then the pleasure reaches his soul. If he did not agree to the good deed, and it is not (done) by means of his property, even if someone arranges (the good deed) for his sake it does not come to his possession.

QUESTION 9

(9.1) The ninth question: how much does the +interest on a good deed accrue, from the time that the good deed is done as long as one is alive?

(9.2) The reply is this: from the time a good deed comes into effect its interest remains accruing so long as (the doer) is alive, except if his good deed is +taken away from him; the growth does not cease, (but) grows as a child gets bigger in the mother's womb.

QUESTION 10

(10.1) The tenth question: does the interest which accrues become helpful on the fourth night in the same way as the original good deed which belongs to him, or is it otherwise?

(10.2) The reply is this, that it is otherwise, since the original good deed stands against sin, the interest on the good deed stands against the interest on sin.

QUESTION 11

(11.1) The eleventh question: +does the interest on good deeds +destroy sin in the same way as the original good deeds or not ?

(11.2) The answer is this, that it may destroy sins. When the meritorious deed occurs for the sake of redeeming a sin or is done in atonement for a sin, (then) it removes that sin which is specifically mentioned in the religion. Then in order to make the position of the soul clear, his other good deeds together with the sins which are in (his) +account, will be counted.

(11.3) The soul is rewarded on account of good deeds and the interest on good deeds, so that it is said (that) the good deed redeems sins and uproots sins.

(11.4) bun kirbag <tā> bun ī wināh<īh> ud waxš ī kirbag waxš ī wināh kanēd.

PURSIŠN 12

(12.1) 12-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū pad šab ī tasum wināh [ī] pad kirbag be ōgārēnd az bun šawēd ayāb-iš [1] wināh ī-š jast [2] pādifrāh kunēnd ud kirbag ī-š kard mizd ud pādāšn dahēnd?

(12.2) pāsox ēd kū šab ī sidīgar andar bāmīg [3] āmār kard guft ēstēd.

(12.3) abar wināh ī-š wizārd kirbag-ē ī-š appār ō āmār nē niyāz. cē āmār abar kirbag bawēd ī-š xwēš ēd cē-š xwēšīhēd [ud] abar wināh ī-š pad bun ēstēd ēd cē-š bun jud ēstēd u-š pad-iš āstārd ēstēd pad-iš tarāzēnd ud wēšīh [ud] kamīh ī kirbag [ud] wināh ciyōn bawēd sanjēnd *dēwānōmandān [4] pad rāst tarāzūg ī a-cafsišn.

(12.4) ōy ī frārōn-dād ī wēš kirbag ka-š jast [5] wināh zamānīg pādifrāh widārēd ud pad kirbag jāwēdān šnāyišnōmand bawēd.

(12.5) ōy ī abārōn-dād ī wēš wināh kardag [6] kirbag pad ān ī zamānīg rāmišn rasēd pad wināh ī-š jast tā be rist-āxēz pādifrāhōmand bawēd.

PURSIŠN 13

(13.1) 13-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū āmār ī pad ruwān pad wināh ud kirbag kē kunēnd u-š kū gyāg abar kunēnd ka-šān pādifrāh kard ēg-išān gyāg kū bawēd?

(13.2) pāsox ēd kū āmār ī abar kunišngarān pad kirbag [ud] wināh tā kunišngar zīndag bawēd har(w) rōz 3 bār wahman ī amahraspand kunēd ciyōn-iš menišn [7] gōwišn kunišn ī harwisp axw ī astōmand āmārēnīdan andar xwēš-kārīh ast.

1. J2, DF: ʾywpʾ
2. J1, J2, H, DF: AYT
3. Thus BK; text: bʾmk; DF: bʾm
4. Text: gʾnʾwmndʾnʾ
5. H, DF: ystytʾ; J2: AYT
6. Thus K35, BK; Others: krtʾ
7. Text: mnšn

(11.4) The original good deeds destroy the original sin, and the interest on good deeds destroys the interest on sins.

QUESTION 12

(12.1) The twelfth question: on the fourth night, does the sin which +they cancel on account of (his) good deeds disappear, or do they punish him for the sins which were committed by him, and give him rewards and recompense for the good deeds which he has done?

(12.2) The answer is this: It is said that the account is prepared at dawn on the third night.

(12.3) As to the sins which are redeemed and are removed by good deeds, they do not need to be accounted; for the account is about his good deeds which belong to him, and about the sin which is in his account. That which stands separately in his account and by which he has sinned – concerning this the +registrars (?) make a balance and they weigh the amount of (lit. how much is) the excess and deficiency of sins and good deeds by a right and +unbiased balance.

(12.4) One who is of the good religion and has more good deeds (than sins), if a sin was committed by him, endures a temporary punishment and (then) becomes blessed for ever.

(12.5) One who is sinful (lit. has improper judgment) and has more sins (than good deeds), if a good deed was done by him, attains temporary happiness by those good deeds, (but) through the sins which were committed by him, he will be suffering punishment until the resurrection.

QUESTION 13

(13.1) The thirteenth question: who are those who carry out the account of the sin and the good deeds of the soul, and where do they do it, and when they have punished them (i.e. the souls) then where is their place?

(13.2) The answer is this: Wahman the *amahraspand* performs the reckoning of good deeds and sins for those who commit them three times every day as long as the +doer is alive, by +Wahman the *amahraspand* (i.e. the Blessed Immortal). For reckoning the thoughts, words and deeds of all (the creatures of) the material existence is among his duties.

(13.3) abar wināh ī hamēmālān ī ō mihrōdrujān kunīhēd gētīgīh-iz abar tan ud nāf ud āwādag ī mihr-drōzān madan guft ēstēd. pad candīh pad-iz wēš[īh[1] ud] kū-gyāgīh ud kay-zamānīh āmārgar mihr pad sedōš abar paymān ī kirbag [ud] wināh sāmān ī ahlāyīh ud druwandīh srōšahlāy ud rašn ī rāst pad tan ī pasēn ud pad spurrīgīh ī har(w) āmār āmārēnēd xwad dādār ohrmazd kē-š az ān-iz ī sedōš hammis āmār [ud] hamāg menišn[2] gōwišn ud kunišn ī dāmān āškārag andar ān ī ōy harwisp-āgāh xrad.

(13.4) pādifrāh pad ruwan ī wināhkārān az ān ī mēnōg wināh ī-š kard [ud] ham-bāgīhist[3] rasēd. az ān bazag kunišn ī warzīd ud parward ān pādifrāh fradom pad zamīg pas pad dušox ud abdom pad passāxt ī tan ī pasēn abar ruwān ī wināhōmandān druwandān rasēd.

(13.5) ka pādifrāh pad sedōš widārd bawēd ān ī ahlawān ruwān ō wahišt pāšom axwān ān ī druwandān ruwān ō dušox ud wattom axwān rasēd.

(13.6) ka-šān pādifrāh ī fraš(a)gird widārd bawēd pad passāxt yōjdahr az har(w) wināh rasēnd[4] be ō hamēīgīhā[5]-rawišnīh ō nēk-rawišnīh pāšom-rawišnīh ī ān ī pāšom axwān a-petyārag.

PURSIŠN 14

(14.1) 14-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū kandan ī gyān ud darrēnišn ī sag ud way [ī] pad nasā bawēd az[6] wināh ōgārēnd wināh az bun be šawēd ayāb nē ?

(14.2) pāsox ēd kū wināh kāhišnīh [ud] kirbag abzāyišnīh az humat hūxt huwaršt az-iz ān saxtīh ud duš-xwārīh ī bawēd ī dēn [ud] ruwān warzīd rāy abar rasēd pad stūrīh andar passāxtīh ud āstawānīh [ī] dēn pānag[īh] ī ruwān ōstīgān dārēnd.

1. Text: wyš
2. Text: mnšn
3. Thus TD, text; DF: hmbndkyhst'; J1, J2, H: hmbndyhst'
4. Thus J1, J2, H, DF; text: YHMTWN-'nd
5. Thus J1, DF; Text has: hm'kyh'
6. J1: MNW

(13.3) About the *hamēmāl* sin (i.e. the sin against +opponents) which is +attributed to the +covenant-breakers, it is said that even in the material world (its result) comes to the covenant-breakers themselves and their families and +descendants; and as to the quantity and also the frequency and the place and time (of the sins of opponent) the accountant is Mihr; and at the *Sedōš* (i.e. fourth morning after death) (the judges) of the measure of good deeds and sins, and the limits of righteousness and wickedness are Srōš the righteous and Rašn the just; and in the future body, on the completion of all accounts, the Creator Ohrmazd himself does the account, (the Creator Ohrmazd) to whom the account of all the thoughts, words and deeds of the creatures, together with that of the *Sedōš*, are known through his omniscient wisdom.

(13.4) The punishment upon the soul of the sinners is +equally divided and comes from that spiritual sin which was committed by him. Because of the sin that the sinner committed and fostered, that punishment comes to the souls of the sinful and wicked first on earth, afterwards in hell, and at last at the trial of the future body.

(13.5) When the punishment is borne, on the *Sedōš* (i.e. fourth morning after death) the soul of one who is righteous goes to the best existence in heaven, and the soul of one who is wicked goes to the worst existence in hell.

(13.6) When they (i.e. the sinners) have endured the punishment of the restoration, they arrive purified of all sins through the trial, and reach the everlasting progress, good progress and excellent progress of the best existence (which) is free from danger.

QUESTION 14

(14.1) The fourteenth question: do they cancel the sins on account of the eradication of life and the tearing of dogs and birds upon the body, and do the sins depart from (one's) +account ?

(14.2) The answer is this: +the decrease of sin and increase of meritorious deeds are dependent on good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and also on that severity and difficulty which occur through exercising (one's) religion and soul; and through the +guardianship and the test (of life) and belief in the religion they (i.e. the righteous people) can be assured of protection for the soul.

(14.3) ān ī anāgīh - <ī> ka kirbakkar ī ēd ka bazakkar ud ka tuxšēd ēd <ī> ka nē tuxšēd ēd ka hunsand ud ēd ka nē hunsand pas a-kām u-š ēc wihān ī kirbagīh abāg nēst ciyōn a-kām rasēd spās ud mizd rāy stānēnd.

(14.4) ēwar kandan ī gyān abar ahlawān ud druwandān ēw-tom bawēd. har(w) kas mizd stad ēstēd ān mizd zīndagīh ī tā widard hangām be darrēnišn ī sag ud way nē abar har(w) kas ud har(w) tan bawēd. juttar kardan šāyēd.

(14.5) *az [1] šnāxtan ī kirbag ud [az] xūb pahrēxtan ī nasā ud zūd wardīhistan ī ān ī rēmanīh. kāmag ī abar wināh-wizārišnīh rāy widardag tan be ō kōfag waxš [2] gyāg ī ēwēnagīhā barēd handarzēnāg ham-dādestān kū-š az dādīhā gyāgīh [3] sag ud murw darrēnēnd.

(14.6) az ān ciyōn ān tars ī dēn-framānīh ud rawāg-kāmagīh rāy tuxšāgīhā ō grīw ī xwēš padīrift ēstēd pad-iš xwēšag pādāšn u-š pad ān rāh rasēd ō wināh nirfsišn [ud] ō ruwān šnāyišn.

PURSIŠN 15

(15.1) 15-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū ka-š sag ud way darrēnēnd ruwān dānēd u-š duš-xwārīh bawēd ayāb ciyōn bawēd?

(15.2) pāsox ēd kū tan ī mardōmān az brīnišn [4] [ud] darrēnišn dard owōn mārēd kū ka ruwān ham-kadag [5] ī tan <ī> u-š [6] ruwān kē xwaš ud a-xwaš dānēd abāg gyān ī zīwēnāg [7] ud bōy ī sōhēnāg ud abārīgān gyān abzārān az tan šawēd tan agār ud a-jumbāg ud a-mārišn ēc dard frazām-iz nē mārēd nē sōhēd ruwān abāg gyān az tan bērōn u-š darrēnišn awiš nē abyōxtag be pad ān ī mēnōgīg sōhišn wēnēd ud dānēd.

(15.3) ān ī druwand [8] ka-šān wēnēd kū abd-passaxt tan ī-š paymōg *būd [9] wišōbīhēd ud ān xōg [10] ī-š dagr abāg būd ēd-iz rāy kū: cē-m andar tanōmandīh ud gētīg-rawišnīh wināh nē wizārd ud ahlāyīh nē

1. Text: MNW
2. DF, J1, J2, H: ʾš
3. DF: gywʾk
4. Thus TD; text has: SDKWN-šn
5. J1, TD, DF: hmkrtk
6. J1, J2, H, DF: ʾywpš; K35: ʾynyʾ
7. Thus all; TD, text add: AYT BRA
8. H, DF: dlwc OD
9. Text: YHWWN-yt
10. TD: ʾnd

(14.3) Whether one is beneficent or +whether one is sinful, whether one strives or not, whether one is contented or not contented, that evil (i.e. the tearing up of the flesh) will come without one's desiring (it), and since (it is) undesired, no cause of merit is attached to it, and they (i.e. men) (have to) accept it as a service and reward.

(14.4) The eradication of life certainly happens to the righteous and the wicked +equally. Everyone has received the reward, that reward is living up to the time of death; but tearing by dogs and birds does not happen to everyone and everybody and there are other alternatives.

(14.5) On account of knowing what is right, and the +proper care of the corpse, and the rapid transformation of impurity, and a wish for the atonement of sins, one takes the body of one who has departed to a mountainous high place according to the rule, in accordance with what is advised, so that the dogs and birds may gnaw it at a proper place.

(14.6) By respecting the precept of the religion and desiring its progress, everyone has accepted his own reward on his own neck diligently, and in that way he will attain the decrease of sins and satisfaction of the soul.

QUESTION 15

(15.1) The fifteenth question: when dogs and birds tear that (i.e. dead body), does the soul know it and does any discomfort arise or +how is it ?

(15.2) The +answer is this: the human body +experiences pain from the tearing and rending in as much as the soul shares a habitation with the body, and it is its soul that knows pleasant and unpleasant; (when) it departs from the body together with the animating vital soul and with the sense of feeling and other instruments of the vital soul, the body is inactive and motionless and without sensation, and neither experiences nor receives any pain even at the end. The soul, together with the vital soul, is outside the body and the tearing has no contact with it, but it sees and knows by means of a spiritual sense.

(15.3) That wicked (soul) is again desirous of corporeal life when he sees that wonderfully-constructed body which was his garment, and (his) character which was with him for a long time are destroyed, for this reason: 'because I did not redeem (my) sins and did not store righteousness during (my) bodily life and worldly existence'; and also by considering this: 'I

hambārd ud pad-iz hangārišn [1] ī abar ēd kū-m pad wēš būdan ī-m abāg ēn tan winād wizārdan ud ruwān bōxtan šāyist [2] hē. nūn az har(w) kas ud rāmišn ī gētīg ud meh ēmēd ī mēnōg judāg hēm ō škeft āmār ud garāntar bīm windād ēstēm ēg-iš abāz ō tanōmandīh ārzōgīhēd.

(15.4) u-š darrēnišn owōn garān bawēd ān tan rāy ciyōn abzār-xānag ī bēdom ud nihān ud wastarag ī andartom abāg *zay zēn-abzār *a-sāmānīhā [3] agārīhēd ud wišōbīhēd.

(15.5) ōy-iz ī ahlaw abāg wuzurg urwāhman ī az ēwarz ī ō pāšom axwān *pas-iz xōg ī-š abāg tan būd ud wuzurg wuzurg-*frayādišnīg [4] ahlāyīh ī-š hamē abāg tan hambārd rāy abar hu-tāšīd tan ī abd-passāxt ī sahmgēnīhā wišōbīhēd ud cimīgīhā ka-š abāyišn ī pad-iš bawēd.

(15.6) ud bōy ī mardōmān ciyōn 3 šab bērōn ī tan pad nazdīkīh ī tan nišīnēd ān ī rāstīhā bīm ud āhr be ō dēwān ud mizd ud drōd ud niwē be ō wehān mēnōgān ayādēnīdan ēmēdēnīdan ud abāyišn daxšag [5] nimūdan rāy mēnōgīhā ēwāz gōwēd kū: cim darrēnēnd sag ud way ēn tan ī passāxt ka abdom-iz abāg hamīhēd tan ud gyān pad āxēzēnišn ī rist.

(15.7) ud *az [6] ān ayādēnišn ī rist-āxēz ud *rawišn [7] ī mēnōg ī tan abārīg weh mēnōgān urwāhmanīh ud ēmēd ud dēwān ud druzān bīm ud bēš rasēd.

PURSIŠN 16

(16.1) 16-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū nasā be ō murwān dād wihān cē ast?

(16.2) pāsox ēd kū passāzišn ī widardagān [8] tan owōn škeft kū ō ham mad ēstēd dō hambadīgīh. ēk dagr pattāyēnīdan ēk tēz wardēnīdan [9] u-š ēwēnag ēn: ō yazdān pādan [ud] dēwān wardēnišn.

1. Thus ed.; TD, K35: hnd'šn'; others: dhšn'
2. Text: š'ystn'; TD: š'stn'
3. DF: 'nzm'nyh'; J1: 'nsmn'nyh'; J2, H: 'nsm'nyh'
4. Text: pyly'tšnyk
5. Thus ed.; Text: dh'k
6. Text: Z̲NE
7. Text, TD: lpšn'; others: lypšn'
8. Thus TD; others wtwlt'n'
9. Emended by ed.; text has: tyc wltwynytn'

would have been able to redeem (my) sins and to save (my) soul through (my) long connection with this body. Now I am separated from everyone and (from) the joy of the world, and (from) the great hope for heaven, and I have found a hard reckoning and greater fear'.

(15.4) And its tearing is as grievous for that body as if a treasury outside (i.e. the body?) and the treasure and +garment inside (it) (cf. soul?) with the +weapon and armour are widely made inactive and destroyed (?)

(15.5) Then even the righteous, in spite of the great joy of moving towards the best existence, for the sake of the character which accompanied his body, and the very great +helpful righteousness which he stored with the body, (grieves) for the well-formed and wonderfully-constructed body, which is terribly destroyed, and deliberately so, since there is a necessity for that.

(15.6) And when the perception of man sits three nights outside the body, near to the body, for the sake of giving a reminder of fear and terror justly to the demons and (a reminder of) reward and peace and good news to the good spirits; and (for the sake of) +giving hope and showing the need to remember, it says with a spiritual utterance: 'Why do dogs and birds tear the construction (i.e. the body) since at the end the body and vital soul will be united together at the resurrection?'

(15.7) And from that reminiscence of the resurrection and the progress of the spirit of the (future) body, joy and hope comes (to) the other good spirits and fear and pain (to) the *druzān* and demons.

QUESTION 16

(16.1) The sixteenth question: what is the reason for giving a corpse to the birds?

(16.2) The reply is this: that the construction of the bodies of the departed is so wonderful that two opposing principles have combined. One is that which causes long continuance and one is that which causes quick alteration and its nature is this: preservation belongs to the *yazdān* and alteration to the demons.

(16.3) pas az *ānayišn[1] ī gyān tā ka kirb wehīh[2] pad gyāg dēwān xrad-stardān az tan tarsēnd ciyōn mēš [ī] gurgān *xast[3] ka az gurg frāz tarsēd.

(16.4) mēnōg ī tan ī xōg ī dagr <rāy> andar tan būd rāy a-wišōbišn owōn kāmag ī pad-iš mānist ka-z-iš hilēnd az māništ. pad im rāh ān ī widardān tan cand a-wināhīhātar šāyēd drust[ī]hā pāyišn.[4]

(16.5) ham-passazag andar-iz dēn stāyīd ēstēd awēšān frawahrān kē abar nigāh dārēnd ān kirb ī sāmān kersāsp ud anī-z spāhyān[5] az gyān ud tan[6] be ān cim rāy.

(16.6) ka hamīhēd ēbgatīg ud wināhišn ō widardān tan padwišagōmand nasuš duwārēd pad-iš ud az ān stahmagīh ka cēr bawēd abar gyān ī ān ī ahlaw mardōm u-š stōwēnēd az ān ī hū-kardīhā gāh ī tan xwad andar tan gāh gīrēd ēg ān tan pad ān cim xwānīhēd nasā.

(16.7) ēd hambadīgīh ī tēz wardēnēd ēwēnag ud grāyīh[7] ī im nasuš rāy ka-z pad wišōbišn ī ān tan šāyēd pas-iz ānāftan ud wardēnīd[an] bēšazdārīhā.[8]

(16.8) az ān ciyōn mardōmān tan passāxtag[9] ī az ast ī saxt[10] ud pid ī sust ān *judīhēd[11] rāyēnišn ī ast az ān ī pid.

(16.9) cē ast pad-iš saxtīh ka-š pid *ī[12] tarr[13] nē abāg u-š nē bawēd tarr dāštār xwad cihrīgīhā huškīhēd ud a-carbišn ud dagr-pattāyišn bawēd. pad huškīh az nasāyīh be ō *hixrīh[14] xwarīhēd.

(16.10) pid ī pēr[ā]mōn ast kē pad āsnīdārīh ī zīwēnāg gyān tarr [ud] waxšišnīg būd <ud> pas az gyān-šawišnīh tarrīh a-dōstīh rāy ō pūdagīh ud gandagīh rasēd u-š xrafstarān andar hambōšēnd.[15]

1. Thus text: ʾnyšnʾ
2. DF: gʾs
3. Text: hwyst
4. Thus ed.; text has: ntlwtwdšnʾ; DF: NTLWN-tn wndšn; others: NTLWN-tn dšn
5. Thus DF; TD: stʾyšn; others: spʾhʾn.
6. Thus DF, K35; others: YHWWN-tnʾ
7. TD: glʾs
8. DF: byšcdʾlyh
9. J1, J2, H, DF: sʾhtkʾ
10. Thus text; all have: HZ̲YTWN-d
11. Text: ystyhytʾ for: jwdtyhytʾ (?)
12. Text: OD
13. Thus Text; others: pytwndtl
14. Text: ʾslyh
15. Text: hmbyšynd

(16.3) After the +bringing of the soul (out of the body), as long as the body's goodness (is) in place, the stupefied demons are afraid of the body like a +sheep injured by wolves when it is frightened away by a wolf.

(16.4) Because of (its) habit of being a long time in the body undisturbed, the spirit of the body wishes to remain in it even when they release it from its dwelling (i.e. the body); therefore (lit. in this way), the body of the departed ought to be looked after with the least sinfulness.

(16.5) Likewise +for this reason those *frawahrs* who with soul and body watch over the body of +Kersāsp, the son of Sām, and the other heroes too, are praised according to the religion.

(16.6) When adversity and destruction are connected to the bodies of the departed, the demon +Nasuš, the +contaminating one, rushes on it, and because of her oppression, when she becomes triumphant over the soul of the righteous man and drives it out from the well-made abode of the body, she makes a place for herself in the body: then the body for that reason is called a corpse (*nasā*).

(16.7) On account of this opposing force, which quickly alters the nature (of the body), and (because of) the +severity of the Nasuš, when the destruction of that body becomes possible, then the rejection and alteration of the body (are) healthful.

(16.8) Since the body of men is constituted from hard bone and soft flesh, the function of bone +differs from that of the flesh.

(16.9) For the bone through its hardness, when no moist flesh is with it, and there is no (thing) to keep it moist, itself naturally becomes dry and it becomes without fat and durable; through (its) dryness, it (alters) from the state of a corpse to the state of +*hixr* (i.e. dry dead matter) and is consumed.

(16.10) The flesh around the bone, which by the purifying (power) of the life-giving soul was (formerly) moist and growing, after the departure of the soul, because of (its) dislike of moisture, comes to be rotten and to stink, and noxious creatures +come into being in it.

(16.11) saxt-iz ast pūdag wišōftag agār kardan payrāst ēstēd.

(16.12) *cē [1] abāz ēstādan [2] ī ān ī wināhkārān nazdīk-rāh-tar cār ān – be az mardōmān āstār – pid az ast jud stirdag gugārd bawēd.

(16.13) ciyōn pad judīh [ī] pid ō gugārišn az nasāyīh be *hixrīh [3] ud ast be ō *xwēšēnišn [4] [ud] kālbod ō *tāšišn [5] (?) abērtar rasēd. ciyōn ān ī pid mardōmān xward rāh nēst cē-šān garāntom rēmanīh ud padwišag awiš abyōxtīhēd.[6] āstārdgarān purrīhā az-iš āstāre[n]ēnd ...[7] brēhēnīd [ud] dād [8] ēstēd dād nē sazāg cē-š ālūdagīh ī ān *yōjdahrān [9] gōspandān [ud] padwišagīg abāz paywandišnīh ī ō mardōmān rāy *garān [10] an-ēwēn bawēd. pad rōšnān ātaxšān be-sōxtan nē sazāg cē āzārišn ī ān ī purr pākīh ī ātaxš az-iš bawēd. ciyōn xwad be ō [ātaxš] sōxt madan nē šāyēd *ēg [11] ān ī sūxtār pad garāntom āstār az-iš *drōšīhēd [12]. be ō jōyišn ī xrafstarān handāxtan nē sazāg cē mēnōg ī tan – ka ī-t mēnōgīh <ī> andar tan – <ī> wināhišn ī xrafstarān abar weh-kirbān nigerēd wišōbēd agārēnēd *ēg [13] škeftīh bēšīhēd. pas owōn cārīgtar rāh bawēd ka ciyōn andar dēn framūd ēstēd ān ī nasušōmand tan pad rōšn kōf waxš būm nihīhēd. nē burdan ī ō āb ud urwar [ud] mardōmān māništ rāy ēwēnīhā bandīhēd tā kirb-xwārān sagān ud kirb-xwārān wayān kē nē dast-hammōg ī mardōmān hēnd nē-z pad xwarišn mehmān hēnd u-šān nē-z mardōm be ō nasā-xwarišnīh barēnd xwad tazān [ud] wāzān šawēnd ān ī pid xwarēnd. pad gyānīg ātaxš andar zīndag tan ī ohrmazd dāmān gugārīhēd. az pid-kirbīh ud nasāyīh be ō gil-kirbīh ud *hixrīh [14] wihīrīhēd aw-iz xāk<īh> gumēzīhēd payrāstag bawēd.

(16.14) ōh-iz ān sagān ud wayān murwān xwad-cihrag yazdān kirb-xwārān dād ēstēd. ud stard-xradīh rāy pad-iz ān wināh an-āstārīd hēnd. az ān pid ī ō tan [ī] zīndag [ī] ohrmazd dāmān gumēzīhēd ēg ān-iz dēwān snāh <ī> ciyōn nimūd andar ān dar ī abar cim ī sag ī

1. Text: QDM
2. Text: ystyt'
3. Text: 'slyh
4. Text: hwyš dh'n
5. Text: t'yšn
6. Text: 'pyw[ww]htyhyt'
7. Some words seem to be missing from this point, see text, p. 39
8. Emended by ed.; text: YHBWN-yt'
9. Text: ywšsl'n
10. Text: gl'y; J1: KALA
11. Thus ed.; Text: OBYDWN
12. Text: dlw'hyhyt'
13. Text: OBYDWN
14. Text: 'slyh

(16.11) Also the hard bone is arranged (so as) to make the rotten, destroyed (flesh) ineffective,

(16.12) because the +most direct means of avoiding those things which cause corruption (is) this – without man's sins – (that) the flesh is +scraped away from the bones and digested,

(16.13) for by the separation of the flesh (from the corpse) for consumption (by birds), it becomes less of a corpse and more like *hixr* (i.e. dry dead matter), and the bone (goes) for +appropriation and (its) shape for (re)making (?), as there is no way for the flesh to be +eaten by men because the greatest filth and contagion is mixed with it, and those who cause sin fully cause sin thereby, (so the religion) decrees, and it is laid down, that it is not proper to give +(it to domestic animals) because its contamination of those pure domestic animals and (its) polluting reconnection to men is seriously improper. Burning (the corpse) in the luminous fire is not allowed, because the torment of that which is completely pure, that is the fire, arises from it; just as one should not oneself approach what is burnt, (though it is) the burner (who) thereby *falls into (lit. is branded with) the most serious sin. Leaving (the corpse) to be devoured by noxious creatures is not proper; because it disturbs and renders powerless the spirit of the body, which is the spiritual element in your body, when it observes the destruction of the body of a righteous man by noxious creatures, and it suffers distress. Therefore the most proper way is when, as is ordered in the religion, the body which contains Nasuš (i.e. the demon of death), is put on the open mountain in a high place; and in order not to take it to the water and plants and to the settlements, it (i.e. the corpse) should be fastened in the customary manner, so that the corpse-eating dogs and the corpse-eating birds – which are not accustomed to men and are not given food by men and which men do not bring to eat the corpse – go themselves running and flying and eat that flesh. It (i.e. the corpse) is digested by the vital fire which is in the live body of the creatures of Ohrmazd, and it (i.e. the corpse) changes from a fleshly body and the nature of a corpse to a body of clay and *hixr* (i.e. dry dead matter), and becomes mixed with the dust and fittingly arranged.

(16.14) So, those dogs and birds have been created as natural corpse-eaters by *yazdān*, and because of (their) dull intellect, they are not guilty of that sin (i.e. because of eating corpses). From that flesh which is mingled with the living body of the creatures of Ohrmazd there arises a blow against the demons, as it is shown in the +chapter: +'The reason for showing a dog to the corpse' , since it shows (to) the bodies of those who have passed away,

ō murdag nimūdan kū widardagān tan ka be-āstārīhā ō ohrmazd dām zīndagān tan gumēzīhēd bahrīg rist-āxēzišnīh daxšag nimāyēd u-š pad-iš dēwān andar dārēnd ud andar dardīhēnd pad yazdān kām.

PURSIŠN 17

(17.1) 17-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū ān ī weh ī ka ō murwān dahēnd ayāb cē ēwēnag weh?

(17.2) pāsox ēd kū pas az sag nimūdan ciyōn-iš cim pad dar ī xwēš paydāg ān ī nasā ī ō kōf ud waxš būm ēwēnagīhā[1] barēnd. ān-iz rāy kū tā sagān ud murwān ān nasā be ō ābōmand warzōmand māništōmand gyāg nē āwarēnd[2] ān[3] ēwēn bastan. ka murwān ī kirb-xwārān ān ī pid ka nē xwarīhēd[4] pūdag winastag xrafstarōmand bawēd.

(17.3) ān ī pid ī xward bawēd ēg ān ī ast dādīhā be ō astōdān – kē az būm ēdōn abar dāšt ud az abar ēdōn aškōb ēstēd tā pad ēc ēwēnag wārān ō nasā nē wārēd u-š āb ul awiš nē ēstēd u-š nam ul awiš nē dahēd u-š sag ud rōbāh awiš šud nē šāyēnd u-š rōšnīh ō madan rāy sūrag pad-iš kard ēstēd – barēnd abar dastwarīhā guft ēstēd.

(17.4) ān astōdān ast kandag[5] az ēk sig <ud> u-š nihumbag az ēk sig ī sūragōmand tāšīd<an> passāxt<an> u-š pērāmōn pad sang ud gac hambārēnēd.

PURSIŠN 18

(18.1) 18-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū ruwān ī ahlawān ud ruwān ī druwandān ka be ō mēnōgān šawēnd ēg-išān[6] ohrmazd ud ahreman be abāyēd dīd <ast ī> ayāb nē?

(18.2) pāsox ēd kū ahreman rāy guft ēstēd kū-š gētīg nēst.

(18.3) ohrmazd-iz andar mēnōgān mēnōg pad ān ī gētīgīg ud ān-iz ī mēnōgīg šnāyišn[īg] kirb wēnišnīg spurr nē be pad xrad ud zōr hangōšīdag wēnīhēd.

1- Emended by ed.; text has: ʾdwynʾ
2- Text: YHYTWN-d
3- Text: ʾny
4- Text: OŠTEN- tyhytʾ
5- Thus text, TD; others: ktkʾ
6- Emended by ed.; text: ʾhwʾ

when they are guiltlessly mingled with the living bodies of the creatures of Ohrmazd, a sign of the allotted resurrection (to come); and the demons are kept in it and are tormented in it by the will of *yazdān*.

QUESTION 17

(17.1) The seventeenth question: is it good if they give (the corpse) to the birds, or how is it best?

(17.2) The +answer is this: after +showing it (i.e. the corpse) to the dog, the reason for which is manifest in its own +chapter, they should take the corpse to the mountains and high places according to the custom; (it is) the custom to fasten (it) so that the dogs and birds do not bring that corpse to a watered, cultivated or inhabited place. If that flesh is not eaten by the corpse-eating birds (it) becomes rotten, spoiled and full of noxious creatures.

(17.3) It is said by the highest authorities that (when) the flesh has been eaten, then they (should) take the bones, +according to the religious law, to an +ossuary which is raised above the ground, and above which a roof is positioned in such a way that the rain never falls on the corpse, and the water does not collect above it, nor does it give out moisture above it, nor are dogs and foxes able to approach it, and in order that light may come to it a hole is made in it.

(17.4) The +ossuary is carved from a single +stone, and its covering is cut and fashioned from a single stone, with a hole in it, and one fills it up all around with +stones and plaster.

QUESTION 18

(18.1) The eighteenth question: when the soul of the righteous and the wicked go to the spiritual world, is it possible for them to see Ohrmazd and Ahriman or not?

(18.2) The reply is this: it is said that +Ahriman has no material existence.

(18.3) Ohrmazd (is) also a spirit among the spiritual beings (and is) worthy of praise both in the material and spiritual worlds. +His form is not completely visible, but he is seen through wisdom and similar powers.

(18.4) <ī> ciyōn guft be ō spitāmān zardušt ka-š *dast-dahišnīh [1] zāyist u-š guft kū: dast ī *mard [2] ī ašō gīr! cē-m pad tō xwēš dēn hu-cašm gīrišnīh <ī> and kū gīrē wēnē ān kē az ān ī man xrad ud xwarrah mehmānīh wēš abar.

(18.5) ruwān ī ahlawān ud druwandān pad ān ī mēnōgīg sōhišn ān gāh wēnēnd *kū [3] ohrmazd dīd sahēnd ēdōn-iz ān ī ahreman *ham-zamān [4] pad ān ī xrad ī-š dādār abar barēd bārīgīhā be šnāsēnd [5] tā ohrmazd ud ahreman.

(18.6) ud ān ī ahlawān pad bōxtan ī az ahreman ud madan ī ō ohrmazdīg axwān šād bawēd [ud] ō ān ī ohrmazd xwarrah namāz barēd ud ān ī druwand pad frēbīhistan ī az ahreman ud waštan [6] ī az ohrmazdīg pand bēšīdtar ud pašēmāntar bawēd. zāyišn [ī] āmurzišn xwēšīhēd [7](?) [ud] pattāy[ēd] dast-grawīh ī-š pad xwēš dast-dahišnīh andar druz az mēnōg ān paywāzišn ī az xwābarān xwābartom rasēd pad rist-āxēz zamānag.

PURSIŠN 19

(19.1) 19-om pursišn <ī> ān ī pursīd kū ahlawān ud druwandān <ī> ō kū gyāg šawēnd?

(19.2) pāsox ēd kū ēdōn guft ēstēd kū widardān ud murdagān ruwān 3 šab pad zamīg hēnd. u-šān fradom šab az humat šnāyišn az dušmat bēš. dudīgar šab az hūxt rāmišn az duš-hūxt duš-xwārīh pādifrāh ud sidīgar šab az huwaršt frayādišn az dušxwaršt pādifrāh rasēd.

(19.3) ān ī sidīgar šab andar bāmī[g] ō alburz gyāg ī āmār šawēnd. kard āmār ō puhl [8] andar rawēnd.

(19.4) ud ān ī ahlawān pad puhl widerēd pad ulīh agar hamēstagānīg tā ō ānōh kū-š gāh ud agar abāg wēš kirbagīh [ud] frārōn dād tā-z ō wahišt agar abāg wēš kirbagīh [ud] frārōn dādīh srōd gāhān tā-z ō garōdmān šawēd.

1. J1: omits
2. Thus J1, J2, H, DF; text: hw- GBRA
3. TD: MN; others: MNW
4. Text: hmnm'n
5. Text: šn's'nd; DF: šn'snd
6. TD, J1: YATWN- d; DF: W YATWN- d; J2: WW YATWN- d
7. K35: hwyšyt
8. Thus DF; text: pwl

(18.4) As he (i.e. Ohrmazd) told Zardušt the Spitāmān, when he (i.e. Zardušt) asked (him) to give him a hand (i.e. to help), and he said: 'Grasp the hand of the righteous man (i.e. guide him), for (with regard to his) benevolently accepting my religion through you, in as much as he accepts (it) he would see what is much superior through my wisdom and glory and hospitality'.

(18.5) The souls of the righteous and the wicked see through the spiritual senses the place where they seem to see Ohrmazd. Likewise in the case of Ahriman, by the wisdom which the Creator provides them, +at once they can precisely recognise Ohrmazd and Ahriman.

(18.6) And (the souls) of those who are righteous are delighted at being saved from Ahriman and coming to the world of Ohrmazd, and they pay homage to the glory of Ohrmazd; and the (soul) of the wicked man is more tormented and more repentant because of his being deceived by Ahriman and turning from the way of Ohrmazd. He appropriates (?) a request for mercy and he endures +captivity which (results) from giving help amongst the *druz*, the answer of the most beneficent of the beneficent ones (i.e. Ohrmazd) will come from heaven at the time of the resurrection.

QUESTION 19

(19.1) The nineteenth question: +where do the righteous and wicked go?

(19.2) The reply is this: it is said that the souls of the dead and departed are on the earth for three nights. The first night they receive comfort as a result of their good thoughts and sorrow as a result of their evil thoughts. The second night they receive pleasure as a result of (their) good words and trouble and punishment as a result of (their) evil words; and the third night they receive help as a result of (their) good deeds and punishment as a result of (their) +evil deeds.

(19.3) At dawn on that third night they go to +Alburz, the place of judgement. After being judged they go on to the bridge.

(19.4) And he who is righteous passes over the bridge in the upward direction, and if he belongs to limbo (*hamēstagān*), he goes to where his place is; and if (he has) more good deeds and proper religion he goes to paradise; and if (he has) more good deeds and proper religion and has recited the *Gāthās* he goes to +*Garōdmān*.

(19.5) ān ī druwandān az tēx ī puhl ayāb az mayān ī puhl <ōftēd> pad nigūnīh ō dušox ōftēd tā ān ī pāyag ī-š druwandīh nigūnīhēd.

PURSIŠN 20

(20.1) 20-om pursišn <ī> ān ī pursīd kū cinwad puhl ud cagād ī dāitī ī rāh ī ahlawān ud druwandān ciyōn? ka ahlaw ciyōn ka druwand ciyōn bawēd?

(20.2) pāsox ēd kū dastwarān ēdōn guft kū cagād ī dāitī <ī> andar ērān-w[ē]z pad mayān ī gēhān [ast]. tā nazdīkīh ī ān cagād ī dāitī ī *ast [1] ān dār-kirb mēnōg cinwad puhl ī az war ī alburz abāz ō cagād ī dāitī abgand ēstēd.

(20.3) ciyōn ān ī puhl dār homānāg ī was pahlūg kē-š pušt ast ī frāx ud ast ī bārīg ī tēz u-š frāx-sōgīhā ast ī ēdōn wuzurg ī-š wist ud haft nay pahnāy u-š tēz-sōgīhā ēdōn tang ī pad bārīgīh ēdōn ciyōn awestarag tēx bawēd [2].

(20.4) ka ahlawān ud druwandān ruwān rasēnd ō ān gyāg ī-šān niyābagīhā ast gardēd.

(20.5) pad wuzurg xwarrah ī dādār ud framān ī ōy rāst-āmār ud puhlbān ahlawān frāx-puhlīh bawēd and cand nō nēzag bālāy ud drahnāy kē-š jud jud *dagrandīh [3] se [4] nay druwandān tang-puhlīh bawēd tā-z hangōšīdag ī ān ī awestarag <ī> tēx.[5]

(20.6) ud ān ī ahlawān pad puhl widarēd u-š rāh xwašīh <ī> pad ān ī hangōšīdag ī gētīgīg ka andar wahār ī zarrēn tan ī hu-cihr [6] ud škeft ī hu-bōy pad ān ī *niwāg [7] mēnōg <pōst (?)> xwaš arz ud wehīh ārzōgīhā ud abē-ranjīhā [8] rawē [9].

1. Text: 'y'pt'
2. Thus BK; text omits YHWWN-yt'
3. Text: dglwndyh
4. TD: 4
5. Thus all MSS; text: tyb
6. Text: hwcyl
7. Text, TD, BK: 'k'; others: gn'k
8. Emended by ed.; text: 'p'lcyh'
9. Thus BK; TD, text: SGYTWN- t''

(19.5) He who is wicked falls from the sharp edge of the bridge or from the middle of the bridge. He falls head first to a +level in hell which is inversely proportional to his wickedness.

QUESTION 20

(20.1) The twentieth question: how are the +Cinwad bridge and the +peak of Dāitī which form the path of the righteous and the wicked? what are they like when (one is) righteous, and what are they like when (one is) wicked?

(20.2) The reply is this: it is said by the authorities that the peak of Dāitī is in Ērān-wēz, in the middle of the world. Near the peak of Dāitī, there is found that spiritual being with a wooden body, that is the Cinwad bridge, which stretches from the fortress of +Alburz to the peak of Dāitī.

(20.3) Since the bridge is like a beam with many sides, which has a wide surface and at the same time has one which is thin and sharp; and on the wide side it is so large that its width is twenty seven reeds, and on the sharp side it is so narrow that in thinness it is like a +razor-blade.

(20.4) When the souls of the righteous and the wicked arrive, +it turns to the place (i.e. the side) which is appropriate for them.

(20.5) By the great glory of the Creator and the command of the one who (takes) the just account and is the guard of the bridge, for the righteous the width of the bridge becomes as much as the height and length of nine spears - each of which is three +reeds long - and for the wicked, the narrowness of the bridge becomes like the edge of a razor.

(20.6) And he who is righteous passes over the bridge, and the pleasantness of his journey, according to a material simile, is as though a +handsome, wonderful, perfumed person were to walk about with a spiritual sound pleasantly and well (and) willingly and effortlessly in the golden-coloured spring.

(20.7) ān ī druwandān ciyōn gām ō puhl nihēd dabrīh[1] ud tēzīh rāy az mayān ī puhl[2] ōftēd ud nigūn gardēd. u-š ō dušox rāh a-xwašīh pad ān hangōšīdag ciyōn gētīgīg andar mayān ī ān ī gandag <ī> murdagestān ānōh kū ān ī tēz az kync (?) nigūn be ul tēx abzīd[3] ēstēd. ud a-kām-tazišnīhā rawēnd abāz *ēstād[4] ud *drang[5] kardan nē hilēnd.

(20.8) and meh ān xwašīh ud a-xwašīh abar ruwānān hangōšīdag ī gētīgīg cand meh ēdōn mēnōg sazišnīg az gētīgīg ī sazišnīg.

PURSIŠN 21

(21.1) 21-om pursišn <i> ān ī pursīd kū ka ān [ī] ahlaw be widerēd kē-š was yazišn ī yazdān ud was kār [ud] kirbag kard ēstēd mēnōg [ī] dahišn mēnōg [ī] yazišn dēn ī māzdēsnān ud āb ud zamīg urwar ud gōspand be ō ohrmazd garzišn kunēnd az be widerišnīh ī ān ī ahlaw u-šān duš-xwār bawēd ka az gētīg be šawēd ayāb ciyōn bawēd?

(21.2) pāsox ēd kū ān ī ahlaw *ruwān[6] ī pad andar be widerišnīh ī ān ī gētīgīg dard-widār pas-iz az be widerišnīh tā be widašt ī-š pad ān škeft āmār *cēhīdār[7] ud pas az āmār pad ān ī xwēš gāh urwāhm pad ān ī ka-š ham-nāfān ī andar gētīg kē-šān ān ī mēnōgān rāz an-ayāft ud ān ī ōy[8] gāh a-šnāxt gētīg[9]-cihrīhā andar glwhyyk' (?)[10] andōhōmand [ud] abar[11] yazdān abaxšāyišnēnāg.

(21.3) mēnōgān[12] mēnōg [ī] dahišn < mēnōg ī yazišn ī >[13] dēn ī māzdēsnān mēnōg ī weh ī andar gētīgīg kē-šān ōy-iz ahlaw andar gētīg stāyīdār ud warzīdār [ud] rāyēnīdār ud pānag ud pahrēzēnāg ud ayār bawēd. abar ān ahlaw ī az gētīgīg pānagīh ō pahrēz ayār-dahišnīh apparīhēd abardar[14] garzišn [ud] abar pādāšn paywandišn ud abar-iš nōg pānag [ud] ārāstār xwāhišn ō dādār kunēnd.

1- Thus J1, J2, H; text, TD: wspwlyh; BK, DF, K35: dyplyh; ed. emends to nyckwlyh
2- TD: pl'c
3- Thus text; K35, BK: 'pzst'
4- Text: yst't'
5- Text: dlwnd
6- Text: 'hlwb'n' for: 'hlwb' lwb'n'
7- Text: 'm'lc d't'l
8- DF: OL
9- DF, J2, H: stwš
10- Thus K35; TD: dlw'cyk'; J1: dlw'h Y; J2, H, DF: dlw'hk'
11- Thus all MSS; TD and text have: ME
12- Thus J1, J2, H, DF; text: mynšn; K35: MN-š'n
13- Emended by ed.
14- Text: 'plt'l

(20.7) He who is wicked falls from the middle of the bridge and turns downwards as he steps on the bridge, because of (its) +roughness and sharpness. And the unpleasantness of his path to hell, according to a material simile, is similar to the middle of a stinking cemetery; there are sharp points of +*kync* (?) which are inverted and pointing upwards, and they (i.e. the wicked) go with unwilling haste, and they do not allow (them) to stop or to linger.

(20.8) That pleasantness and unpleasantness are so much greater for the souls, according to a material simile, as what is fitting for the spirit is greater than what is fitting for the world.

QUESTION 21

(21.1) The twenty first question: when the +righteous man who has performed much worship of the *yazdān* and many duties and good deeds departs, do the spirit of creation, the spirit of worship, the religion of the Mazdeans, the water, earth, plants and beneficent animals make complaint to Ohrmazd about the departure of that righteous man? Is it distressing to them when he departs from the material world? or how is it?

(21.2) The reply is this: the soul of the righteous undergoes pain while it departs from the world. After departure, until it has passed through that frightful account, it +laments. After the judgment it is joyful in its own place, and since its relatives who are in the material world have not realised +the spiritual mysteries, and have not known its place, they are +*glwhyyk'* (?) full of grief (for them) in a worldly manner, and arouse the *yazdān* +to pity (them).

(21.3) +The spirits, the spirit of creation +(and the spirit of the worship) of the Mazdean religion, the good spirit in the material world, of whom that righteous man is, the praiser, worker, arranger, protector, servant, and helper in the material world, make a loud complaint to the Creator about that righteous man who is deprived of earthly protection, care and help; they also make a request to the Creator concerning the attaching of reward (to the righteous man) and about their new protector and arranger.

(21.4) dādār [ī] wisp-tuwān paywāzēd ud ō druz wānišn ō ahlawān šnāyišn ō ān ī weh dāmān pānag ud frayādāg baxšēd.

(21.5) ciyōn guft ēstēd kū: andar har(w) zamānagīhā dēn dastwar ud rāyēnāg ī dām paydāgēnīd kē andar ān ī zamānag dām pānagīh ud yazdān kāmagīh abar rawāgīhēd.

PURSIŠN 22

(22.1) 22-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū gyān ka az tan ī mardōmān frāz stānēnd ciyōn be šawēd?

(22.2) pāsox ēd kū pad ān homānāg guft ēstēd ciyōn ka az ātaxš suxrīh [1] ul hanjīhēd. cē ātaxš ka sōzišnīg sōxt <ī> a-brāh mānd ka nōg sōzišnīg nē ayābed <ud> ayāb wizāyišnīg abar rasēd ēg-iš suxrīh garmīh az-iš be šawēd. gyān-iz [2] pad a-tōšagīh [3] andar tan nē ēstēd ham-mānag be šawēd.

(22.3) ham-passazag dēn dastwarān ēn-iz guft kū margōmandān mardōmān pad dānišn hangām wēnēnd ka mēnōgīhā band-ē ō grīw kunēnd ka-š zamānag frāz mad ēg-iš pad ham-bar rāyēnēd u-š ō ōftišn gyāg ī marg. wihān ī marg: u-š būšāsp abespārēd *wēn [4] u-š tab āšōbēnēd ōš u-š zarmān stānēd nērōg [5] pad ān ī abespārēd *wēn [6] weh rawišn ud tazišn ī abzārān kē-šān zōrēnāg hēnd abāz ēstēd ud cihr [7] kē xwadīg andarōnīg bizešk ast widarag ī rōšn nē ayābed. u-šān āšōft ōšīh rāy ō cārān *šnāsišn [8] ud šud zōrīh rāy ō cārīg kār rāh bast bawēd. pad agārīh ī abzārān rawēd ruwān ī a-marg tan kadag xwadāy abāg gyān ī zīwēnāg az tan ī agār ud [9] ruwān ī a-marg ciyōn kadag xwadāy ī dānāg az kadag ī awērān ō mān ī hu-pēsīd.

(22.4) ōh-iz guft pēšēnīg [10] frazānagān kū gyān ast mēnōg zīwēnāg ī andarag [11] ruwān ī tan tā ruwān ham-kadag ī tan zīndagīh dārēd tan [12] widard tan zīndagīh ī ruwān ast.

1. Thus J1; text: swh'lyh
2. Thus K35; text: HYA cygwn
3. K35: w'tˈ wškyh
4. Text: yn
5. TD: klyn'k'
6. Text: xwn
7. Text: cyl
8. Text: šn's'n
9. Text: OL
10. Emended by ed.; text: pyš'ykˈ
11. 'ndl'nˈ
12. K35: ŠLYTWN-tnˈ

(21.4) The omnipotent Creator responds and allots destruction to the *druz*, gratification to the righteous, and a protector and helper to the good creatures.

(21.5) As it is said: at all times he reveals a religious authority and an organiser of the world, (through) whom the protection of the world and the performance of the will of the *yazdān* is put into effect at that time.

QUESTION 22

(22.1) The twenty-second question: when they take the soul away from the bodies of men, how does it depart?

(22.2) The reply is this: it is said to be like when the redness is drawn out of a fire. For when the inflammable (material) of a fire is burnt, it remains without glowing, if it does not receive new inflammable (material); or (if something) injurious affects (it), then its redness and heat depart from it. (So) too the soul does not stay in the body +without provisions, (but) departs in the same way.

(22.3) +Likewise the authorities of the religion have said that as a result of (their) knowledge mortal men are able to see the time when he (i.e. Astawihād, the demon of death) puts a +noose around the neck. When his (i.e. a man's) time has come (i.e. at the point of death), he leads him along as a +companion to the place of death (for) falling down (i.e. destruction). The cause of death (is this): +Būšāsp gives up his breath, fever causes his consciousness to be destroyed, old age takes his strength away; because he gives up (his) breath, the faculties which give him strength fail to function and to move properly and the +nature which is his own inward physician does not find a clear path. Their path is closed to the recognition of remedies on account of the destruction of their consciousness (i.e. those entrusted with his well-being) and to the remedial duties on account of losing strength. On account of the inactivity of the faculties of the (body), the immortal soul, (which is) the master of the house (in) the body; departs along with the animating life from the impotent body; and the immortal soul like a wise master goes out from the ruined house (i.e. the body) to a well decorated dwelling.

(22.4) Likewise the ancient sages have said thus: life is a vitalising spirit which is within the soul in the body; as long as the soul is in the same dwelling as the body, the body is alive; (but) the departure of the body is the life of the +soul (i.e. in fact the soul starts a better life when it leaves the body).

PURSIŠN 23

(23.1) 23-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū ka ān ī ahlaw be widerēd ruwān šab ī fradom ud dudīgar ud sidīgar kū gyāg nišīnēd ud cē kunēd?

(23.2) pāsox ēd kū ēdōn guft ēstēd kū ruwān ī mardōman xwad mēnōg ī tan pas az be widerišnīh se šab pad zamīg bawēd ud gumān ī abar xwēš gāh andar bīm ī [1] az āmār ud tars ud wišayg [2] ud bīm [ud] cēhag [3] ī az puhl ī cinwad *sōhēd [4] ud cēhān nišīnēd ud abar xwēš kirbag [ud] wināh nigerēd.

(23.3) ruwān ī andar rāh ī [5] ō ham mēnōg ī tan kē-š ham-sōhišn [ud] ham-mārišn ast abar wināh ī-š kard ud kirbag ī-š kam kard cašmagāh bawēd.

(23.4) u-š fradom šab az xwēš humat dudīgar šab az hūxt sidīgar šab az huwaršt rāmišn ō ruwān hāzēd agar abāg-iz ahlawīh wināh ast ī-š pad bun ēstēd fradom pad tōzišn dušxwaršt pādifrāh ham sidīgar šab rasēd.

(23.5) ham sidīgar šab andar bāmīg [6] nigāhbed [7] ganjwar ī kirbag ciyōn hu-cihr kanīg-ē be ō padīrag āyēd abāg hambār ī xwēšīg kirbag [abar] frēg cand a-tōxt wināh ud bazag be ō āmār rasēd rāstīhā āmārīhēd ud pad mānd wināh puhl pādifrāh widārēd.

(23.6) tōxt dušmat duš-hūxt dušxwaršt abāg frayādāg ud rāmēnāg mēnōg ī xwēš humat hūxt huwaršt be ō garōdmān ayāb ō wahišt ayāb ō hamēstagān ī ahlawān ānōh kū-š andar ahlawīh gāh ast awiš franāmēd.

PURSIŠN 24

(24.1) 24-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū ān ī druwand ka be mīrēd ruwān šab ī fradom ud dudīgar ud sidīgar kū gyāg nišīnēd ud cē gowēd [ud] kunēd ?

1. Emended by ed.; text: bymyh; DF: b'myh
2. Thus DF; text, J1, J2, H: wyhyk'; K35: wšyk'; TD: wš'yk'; ed. Emends to: nšyp (?)
3. Text: pšk'; TD: pyhk'
4. Text: swhyst
5. Text: l's-1
6. Text: b'my
7. Text: nk'y'pyt'; K35, J1: 'y'pyt'; J2, H, F: W 'y'pyt'

QUESTION 23

(23.1) The twenty-third question: +when he who is righteous departs where does (his) soul sit on the first night and the second and the third, and what does it do?

(23.2) The reply is this: +it is said that the soul of men (which is) itself the +spiritual (counterpart) of the body, remains three nights on earth after the departure doubtful about its own place, and in fear of judgement, and in dread and +anxiety and because of (its) fear and horror of the Cinwad bridge, it sits suffering and lamenting and examines its own good deeds and sins.

(23.3) The +journeying soul (lit. the soul on the way) which (is) +the same as (?) the spiritual (counterpart) of the body, with which it has the same feeling and the same perception, becomes +aware of the sins it has committed and the few good deeds which it has done.

(23.4) And +the first night pleasure reaches the soul from its own good thoughts, the second night from its own good words, and the third night from its own good deeds; and if also, with the righteousness, there be sin which is in his +account, the first punishment in atonement for the evil deeds happens on the same third night.

(23.5) On the same third night at dawn, the +guardian and treasurer of good deeds who is like a handsome maiden comes to meet it, with the store of its own good deeds on (her) shoulder. Many unatoned sins and crimes come into the account and are justly accounted for, and in atonement for the remaining sin it undergoes punishment.

(23.6) (After) +having atoned for evil thoughts, evil words and evil deeds, along with its own good thoughts, good words and good deeds (in the shape of) the helpful and pleasing spirit (i.e. the beautiful maiden) it +proceeds to the supreme heaven (*garōdmān*), or to paradise (*wahišt*) or to the limbo (*hamēstagān*) of the righteous, where there is a place for it in righteousness.

QUESTION 24

(24.1) The twenty-fourth question: when he who is wicked dies, where does the soul sit on the first night, the second, and the third? and what does it say and do?

(24.2) pāsox ēd kū ān ī šab se ruwān pad zamīg bawēd [ud] abar menišn gōwišn kunišn ī ān ī xwēš-tan nigerēd [1] ud gumān ī abar xwēš gāh ud garān bīm ī az āmār meh tars ī az puhl ud škeft bīm ī dušox rāy *sōhēd [2] menišn garān cēhag[3] ud bīm <ī> nimūdār.[4]

(24.3) ud ruwān [ī] andar rāh <ē> mēnōg ī tan abar kirbag ī-š nē kard ud wināh ī-š kard hangārīdār [5] ud cašmagāh dādār.

(24.4) fradom šab az xwēš duš-menišnīh dudīgar šab az xwēš duš-gōwišnīh ud sidīgar šab az xwēš duš-kunišnīh awištābōmand be az kirbag ī-š andar gētīg kard ēstēd fradom šab mēnōg ī hu-menišīh ud dudīgar šab mēnōg ī hu-gōwišnīh ud sidīgar šab mēnōg ī hu-kunišnīh be ō ruwān rasēd u-š rāmišnīg ud frayādāg bawēnd.

(24.5) ud sidīgar šab andar bāmī[g] nigāhbed [6] ī-š wināh pad carātīg kirb ī sahmgēn [ud] rēman ī āzārdār abāg hanbār ī-š wināh ō padīrag āyēd [7] ud gandag wād ī abāxtarīgīhā be ō padīrag āyēd ud ʾstssstyhʾ(?) [8] pad nibēmišnīhā (?) [9] ud a-kām-tazišnīhā be ō āmār rasēd.

(24.6) pad frēftagīh frēftārīh ud abārōn-dēnīh ud *ašōganīh [10] *zūr-gug[āyīh] [11] hamē weh-gōhr nikōhagīh ud druz-stāyīh freh-wināhīh ēraxtēd ud az puhl ōftēd ō dušox nigūnīhēd.

PURSIŠN 25

(25.1) 25-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū ciyōnīh ī wahišt ud āsānīh xwašīh andar wahišt ciyōn ast?

(25.2) pāsox ēd kū ulīg ud abrāzīg [ud] bālistīg rōšntom hu-bōytom ud pāktom ud hu-cihrīhātom abāyišnīgtom wehtom ud gyāg māništ [12] ī yazdān.

(25.3) u-š andar ast hamāg āsānīh ud rāmišnīh urwāhm ud šēdāyīh ud nēkīh wēš ud weh az-iz ān ī mahist ud abardom nēkīh rāmišn ī pad gētīg.

1. J1: wtylytʾ; J2, H, DF: wdylytʾ
2. Text: swwhyst; DF: dynʾ AYT
3. TD, K35: cygwn
4. Thus all MSS; ed. emends to: bym Y MN tʾl
5. Text: hwglʾytʾl
6. Text: nkʾyptʾ; other MSS: nkʾkptʾ
7. K35: YHMTWN-yt
8. Thus K35; text: ʾstyysyytyhʾ
9. Thus DF, H, J1, J2; K35: npwdmšnyhʾ; text: PWN wymšnyhʾ
10. Text: ʾšwgnykʾ
11. Text: zwlgwkʾ; J1: zlynʾ; J2, H, DF: zwlyn
12. J1: mʾnstʾ

(24.2) The reply is this: that those three nights the soul is on earth and observes the thoughts, words, and deeds of its own body, and (it is) uncertain about its own place and feels grievous fear of judgment (and) great terror of the bridge and grievous fear on account of hell, and (its) thoughts display terrible +grief and fear.

(24.3) And the +journeying soul, the spiritual (counterpart) of the body, is +considering the good deeds it has not done and the sins it has committed, and acknowledging (them) (lit. 'making (them) evident (to himself)').

(24.4) It is +troubled the first night by its bad thoughts, and the second night by its bad deeds, and the third night by its bad words, but on account of the good deeds which it has done in the material word, the first night the spirit of good thoughts, the second night the spirit of good words, and the third night the spirit of good deeds come to the soul and become pleasing and helpful to it.

(24.5) And the third night at dawn, the +guardian of its sins in the shape of a frightful, filthy and harmful +maiden comes to meet it with the store of its sins, and a fetid +northerly wind comes out towards it; and (the soul) comes to judgement with +...(?) +prostrating (?), and unwillingly running.

(24.6) On account of deception and deceit, heresy, smiting the righteous, false witness, perpetual +blaming of the +good-natured, and praise of *druz*, and excessive sinfulness, it (i.e. the wicked soul) is +condemned and falls from the bridge and is thrown headlong into hell.

QUESTION 25

(25.1) The twenty-fifth question: what is the nature of paradise, and how are the comfort and the pleasure therein?

(25.2) The reply is this: that (it is) high, exalted, and supreme, most splendid, most fragrant, and most pure, and most beautiful, most desirable, and best, and (it is) the place (and) dwelling of *yazdān*.

(25.3) And in it there are all comforts and pleasures, delight and +bliss and goodness exceeding even the greatest and highest goodness (and) comfort in the world.

(25.4) u-š nēst ēc niyāz ud dard bēš ud duš-xwārīh.

(25.5) u-š xwašīh ud nēkīh jahān az ān ī hamēšag-sūd gāh [ud] ganj ī purr ī *a-kāhišn [1] an-abesīhišn [2] a-kanārag.

(25.6) ud wahištīgān andar wahišt abē-bīmīh ī az anāgīh ciyōn ō a-petyāragīh rasišn ī nēk yazdān [3] ciyōn ō xwēš kirbag passazag.

(25.7) and [4] frahist nēkīh ī mēnōg ī az ān ī gētīg cand ān [ī] a-kanārag ud hamēīg az ān ī kanāragōmand ud jahānīg.

PURSIŠN 26

(26.1) 26-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū ciyōnīh [ī] dušox ud dard duš-xwārīh pādifrāh ud gand [5] ī dušox ciyōn ast?

(26.2) pāsox ēd kū frōdīg zofāyīg nigūnīg ud tārīktom gandagtom ud sahmgēntom [6] an-abēdāntom ud wattom gyāg ud gilistag ī dēwan ud druzān.

(26.3) u-š nēst andar ēc āsānīh [ud] xwašīh ud urwāhmīh.

(26.4) u-š andar ast hamāg gandagīh ud rēmanīh dard ud pādifrāh bēš ud zarīg [7] ud anāgīh [ud] duš-xwārīh.

(26.5) u-š nē hangōšīdag ēc [ō] gandagīh rēmanīh dard ud anāgīh ī gētīgīg. cē nē hangōšīdag gumēzag [8] anāgīh ī gētīgīg ō ān ī-š a-jomānēkīh u-š damišn az bun [ud] kadag ī anāgīh.

(26.6) ud and garāntar ān anāgīh andar dušox az-iz garāntom anāgīh ī andar gētīg mehīh ī mēnōg az gētīg ud wēš garān [9] tars ī pādifrāh ī abar ruwān az ān ī pad tan wattarīh ī dēwān.

(26.7) ud pādifrāh abar ruwān az ān māništ az dēwān tār mānāgīh [10] ī ān anāgīh ō dušox ī-šān kamālak <ī> ahreman purr-marg.

1. Text: ʾkhšnʾ
2. Emended by ed.; text: ʾnʾpshʾnʾ
3. Text: wyhʾn
4. Emended by ed.; text: HNA
5. Text: gwnd
6. Text: smkynwtwm
7. TD, K35: zlpʾ
8. TD: ZNE-c
9. Thus K35; text: glcʾnʾ
10. Thus text; others: wtʾltwm ʾnʾkyh; TD, K35: wtʾl mʾnʾkwyh

(25.4) And there is no need nor pain, sorrow nor discomfort in it.

(25.5) And the pleasure and goodness +spiring from that place of +everlasting benefit, from the complete and undiminishable treasure which is imperishable and unlimited.

(25.6) And the heavenly beings (have) no fear of evil in heaven, for (they have) come to the (place of) safety of the good *yazdān* as befits their own good deeds.

(25.7) And the goodness of the spiritual (world) is superior to the goodness of the material (world), as much as that which is unlimited and everlasting is more than that which is limited and +subject to change.

QUESTION 26

(26.1) The twenty-sixth question: what is the nature of hell and the pain and discomfort and punishment and stench of hell?

(26.2) The reply is this: it is below, deep, and underground, most dark, most fetid, and most terrible, most unwanted, and worst, the place and the dwelling of demons and *druzān*.

(26.3) And there is no comfort or pleasure or delight in it.

(26.4) Therein it is all stench, filth, and pain and punishment, sorrow and +grief, evil and discomfort.

(26.5) And +it has no similarity to the stench and filth, pain and evil of the material world; for there is no similarity between the mixed evil of the material world and that with which there is no goodness, and whose breath (issues) from the +origin and abode of evil.

(26.6) And the evil in hell is so much more grievous than even the most grievous evil in the material world, just as the greatness of the spiritual world is (more) than that of the material world; and the +grievous fear of the punishment of the soul is more than that of the wickedness of the demons towards the body.

(26.7) And the punishment of the soul is from that place, (and) from the darkness of the demons, (and) that evil resembles the hell of their chief Ahriman who is full of death.

(26.8) ud cimīg guftan ī dastwarān saxwan ēd kū: abārīg har(w) cīš bīm wēš kū xwad cīš ud dušox xwad [1] cīš ī wattar kū bīm.

PURSIŠN 27

(27.1) 27-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū sedōš cim cē ast *kū [2] andar 3 rōz yazišn ud drōn *ī [3] srōš framāyēnēnd kardan ?

(27.2) pāsox ēd kū gyān ud ruwān ka az mēnōg waxš be ō gētīg paymōgīh rasēd u-š dard ud wizāyišn abar widard ēstēd nāzuktar. u-š parwarišn zāyišn paristišn pānagīh pāsbānīh abāyišnīgtar ud a-wizīrišnīgtar pēm xwarišnīh ud ātaxš nōg-nōg [ud] hamēšag pākīhā andar abāyēd.

(27.3) ēdōn-iz ka az tanōmandīh bērōnīhēd u-š dard ud gyān-kanišnīh abar mad ēstēd ham-gōnag nāzuktar u-š pānagīh pāsbānīh frayādišn ī az mēnōgān [ud] gētīgān abāyišnīgtar.

(27.4) u-š mēnōg-cihrīh [4] rāy dahišn ī yazdān ud frayādišn ī mēnōg nērangīg frayādišnīgtar ātaxš-iz nōg-nōg ān ī andar yazišn ēwēntar.

(27.5) pad im cim 3 rōz [5] ruwān rāy [6] paywastagīhā yazišn [ud] ātaxš sōzišnīh ud pāk nōg-nōgīh [ud] abārīg dēnīg nērangīg pāsbānīh pēm xwarišnīh-iz ham *cāšnīg [7] framūd ēstēd.

(27.6) az ān ciyōn pāsbānīh [ud] pānagīh [ī] gētīgān az dādār framān srōšahlāy xwēš-kārīh ud āmārgar-iz pad sedōš ēk ān ī ruwān 3 rōz ud šab mēnōg-waxšīh [8] gāh andar gētīg <ud> pānagīhēd [9] pad ān ī srōš pādārīh [10] ud āmārīhēd pad-iz ān ī srōš āmārīh pad-iz ān cim 3 rōz ud šab yazišn [ī] srōš kardan paydāg cim.

(27.7) rōz ī tasum yazišn [ī] ardā fraward framūd [11] kardan ham ruwān abārīgān ardā frawardān ī astān būdān bēdān az gayōmart ī abzōnīg ō sōšāns ī pērōzgar.

1. Thus text; J1, J2, H: hwmt'; TD, K35: hwtm; DF: hwmwt'.
2. DF: MNW
3. Text, TD: dlwn' HD; J1, J2, H: dlwn'- 1; DF: dlwn
4. J2, H, DF: cylyh
5. Text adds AMT; but DF adds MNW
6. Thus J2, DF
7. Text: hwlšnyh c'mcšnyh; J1, J2, H, DF: hwlšnyhc hmcšnyh
8. Thus TD; others: whš
9. TD: p'nk' YHSN<wn>- yt
10. TD: p'tpl'syh; J1 adds hmlwb'n'
11. Text: plmwtn'

(26.8) The words of the wise utterances of the authorities are these: the fear of every other thing is more than the thing itself, (but) hell itself is a thing worse than the fear of it.

QUESTION 27

(27.1) The twenty-seventh question: (as for) the +*Sedōš*, what is the reason for ordering the performance of the worship and the +*drōn* ritual of Srōš for three days?

(27.2) The reply is this: when the spirit and soul come from the +spiritual existence to be clad in the material world, and have passed into the pain and injury (of the material world), they become more vulnerable; and their +fostering and birth, service, protection and defence are more necessary and unavoidable, (therefore) it is necessary (for them) to +drink milk and to keep the +fire constantly tended and in a state of purity.

(27.3) Likewise, when he (i.e. man) +emerges from bodily existence, and pain and the cessation of life come to him, he becomes similarly more vulnerable; (therefore) protection and defence and help from the spiritual and the material world is more necessary.

(27.4) And on account of his spiritual nature, donations to the *yazdān* and the help of spiritual spells are very beneficial; also continually tending the fire during worship is very proper.

(27.5) For this reason it is ordered that worship be performed continually for three days for the soul, and that the fire be kept burning, pure, and renewed, (and) other religious spells (be used) to protect (the soul), and also that milk be drunk and (the *drōn*) +tasted.

(27.6) Because the defence and protection of worldly creatures is the proper function of righteous Srōš by the Creator's command, (and) righteous Srōš is also one of those who performs the account on *Sedōš* (i.e. the fourth morning after death), that soul is protected by the +guardianship of Srōš during the three days and nights, the period of spiritual existence in the material world; and he is judged by the judgment of Srōš; and therefore, the reason for worshipping Srōš for three days and nights is manifest.

(27.7) On the fourth day, the worship of the righteous *frawahr* (of the deceased) and the other righteous *frawahrs* of those who are, and were, and +will be, from the bountiful Gayōmart to the victorious Sōšāns, is ordered to be performed for the same soul.

PURSIŠN 28

(28.1) 28-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū yazišn ī srōš any šnūman ī did abāg kardan nē pādixšāy cē cim rāy *kū-š [1] judāgīhā yazēnd.

(28.2) pāsox ēd kū wispān [2] xwadāy dādār kē xwābar abar xwēš dām ud grāmīgdār xwēš rāst-bandagīh [3] ī-š dād ō[4] srōšahlāy <ī> [5] judāgīhā yaštan ka nē ān ī ōy nām wasīhā gōwīhēd nē-z ān ī amahraspandān nām abāg ōy yaštan pad ēn cim.

PURSIŠN 29

(29.1) 29-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū šab ī sidīgar pad ōš(e)bām ān drōn 3 pad 3 šnūman judāgīhā yaštan cim cē ast?

(29.2) pāsox ēd kū drōn ēw [6] kē-š šnūman [ī] rašn aštād šnāyišn ī ōš(e)bām ud gāh ī ušahin rāy[7] cē gar ī ušdāštār andar šnūman [ī] aštād yazd [8] gōwīhēd abāg aštād gāh ī ušahin.

(29.3) [drōn ēw kē pad] [9] šnūman [ī] xwarrah xwadāy ī ān hangām ka ān āmār bawēd ruwānān andar ušahin bām ī ōš ka ō āmār šawēnd ā-šān widār pad ōš ī bāmīg.

(29.4) drōn ēw kē pad šnūman ī wāy ī weh ēd-iz rāy *kū [10] ciyōn wāy ī wattar appardār [11] ud zadār ēdōn-iz wāy ī weh kōxšīdār ud ham-padīrag ī wāy ī wattar u-š wizūdār az gyān-apparišnīh ud padīriftār ud pānag ī gyān drōn rāy.

PURSIŠN 30

(30.1) 30-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū ruwān ī ahlawān ka be ō wahišt šawēd pad cē ēwēnag šawēd? u-š kē padīrēd kē nayēd u-š handēmān

1. Text: AMT-š
2. J1, J2, H, DF: wysp'
3. J1: bntykyh; J2, DF: bwntykyh
4. DF: OD
5. Text: Y
6. BK: HNA
7. Emended by ed.; text: L'
8. J1, J2, H, DF: yštn'
9. Added by ed.
10. Text: AMT
11. Text: 'pwlt'l

QUESTION 28

(28.1) The twenty-eighth question: it is not permissible to recite the worship of Srōš together with another second +dedication ritual; what is the reason for worshipping +him separately?

(28.2) The reply is this, that the Lord of all things (is) the Creator who is beneficent towards his own creatures, and holds dear the status of his own true servant which he bestowed upon righteous Srōš who is to be worshipped separately, since his name is not spoken enough and he is not to be worshipped with the names of the *amahraspands* for this reason.

QUESTION 29

(29.1) The twenty-ninth question: what is the reason for performing separately the three *drōn* rituals with three dedications on the third night at dawn?

(29.2) The reply is this: one *drōn* ritual, whose dedication is to Rašn and Aštād, is for the sake of praising the dawn and the +night-time; for the mountain Ušdāštār is mentioned in the ceremony dedicated to the *yazad* Aštād (and) with Aštād the night-time.

(29.3) (One *drōn* ritual whose) dedication is to the Glory, the ruler of that time when the reckoning occurs. The souls are in the light of the dawn of night-time when they go to the reckoning, then their passing is through the bright dawn.

(29.4) One *drōn* ritual whose dedication is to the good Wāy, because, just as the bad Wāy is the taker and destroyer (of the soul), likewise the good Wāy is a challenger and also opponent of the bad Wāy, and obstructs him from taking the soul, and (the good Wāy is) the acceptor and protector of the soul by means of the *drōn* ritual.

QUESTION 30

(30.1) The thirtieth question: when the soul of a righteous man goes to heaven, in what manner does he go, and who receives him? Who leads him, and who introduces him into the presence of Ohrmazd, and does anyone of the righteous in heaven come out to meet him, and does anyone make enquiries of him? Or how (is it)? Will they arrange a reckoning of his sins

ī ohrmazd kē kunēd u-š az ahlawān ī pad wahišt kas be ō padīrag rasēd [1] u-š kas pursišn az-iš kunēd ayāb ciyōn u-š āmār ī pad wināh ud kirbag abar kunēnd u-š andar wahišt āsānīh xwašīh ciyōn nimāyēd [2] u-š xwarišn cē u-šān ayārišn ī be ō gētīg bawēd ayāb nē ud sāmān ī wahišt paydāg ast ayāb cē ēwēnag?

(30.2) pāsox ēd kū ruwān ī ahlawān be ō wahišt pad zōr ī ān ī mēnōg kirbag abāg weh mēnōg ī ruwān parwānag pad paymān ud pāyag ud *tāyag [3] ī-š xwēš kirbag abāg kirbag mēnōgīg be <ō gētīg> raγ wardyūn ud wāš [4] ī cahārag bārag [ud] jāmag [ud] payrāyag [ud] abzārān ī abāyišnīg ud mēnōg-wāzišnīhā be ō wahišt ayāb ō garōdmān ānōh kū-š gāh ast franāmēd.

(30.3) u-š wahman amahraspand ō ohrmazd ī dādār handēmānēnēd ud az ohrmazd framān gāh ud mizd paydāgēnēd ān ohrmazd <ō> handēmān gāh pad ān ī wēnēd dānēd ud *ayābed [5] šād bawēd.

(30.4) ohrmazd ī weh dāhagān [6] dādār andar-iz mēnōgān mēnōg u-š mēnōgān-iz wēnišn ōh dīd ī mēnōgān abar gētīgān paydāg.

(30.5) be ān ī ka [7] pad wuzurg *xwašīh [8] ī dādār mēnōgān [9] gētīgīg wēnišnīhā paymōzēnd ayāb [10] ō gētīgān mēnōg sōhišnīg wēnišn abyōzēnd enyā axw pad gētīg sōhišn mēnōgān dīd [11] pad ān hangōšīdag tuwān ciyōn ka tanīhā wēnēnd <ī> kē-š ruwān andar ayāb ka ātaxš wēnēnd kē-š wahrām andar ayāb āb wēnēnd kē-š xwēš mēnōg andar ast.

(30.6) be pad ān handēmānīh ohrmazd ān ruwān wēnēd ēwar cē ohrmazd wispān wēnēd.

(30.7) ān-iz *ahlawān [12] ruwān cand-iš az ān ī ohrmazd andar mēnōgīg sōhišn abyōzīhēd pad nimūdan ī az ān ī ohrmazd urwāhmanīhēd.

1. BK: YATWN-yt'
2. Text: nm'yt'
3. Text: t'd(y)k'; J1, J2, H, DF: om.; BK: t'd(y)k'
4. J1, J2, H, DF: W wn's W; TD: W wn'š W
5. Text: h'cyt'
6. DF: dhyk'n'
7. DF: MNW
8. Text: hwyšyh; BK: w'nyšyh; TD, DF: w'ndš; other MSS: w'ndyh
9. From this point TD adds: BRA ZK Y AMT PWN LBA hwyš d't'l mynwk'n QDM gytydy'n pyt'k
10. Thus K35; text: AHRN-c
11. DF: HZYTWN-d
12. Text: dlwc

and good deeds, and how are the comfort and sweetness shown to it in heaven, and what is his food, and does their help come to the material world, and is the limit of heaven manifest, or what form does it take?

(30.2) The reply is this, that the righteous soul proceeds to heaven through the power of (his) spiritual merits, accompanied by the good spirit which is the guide of the soul, according to the proportion, degree, and +position of his own good deeds, together with the spiritual meritorious deeds in the +swift vehicle and carriage with four horses, with garment and adornment and suitable equipment, and spiritually flying to heaven or to *Garōdmān*, where his place is.

(30.3) And Wahman the *amahraspand* introduces him into (the presence) of Ohrmazd the Creator and by order of Ohrmazd he reveals his place and reward, (namely) a place in the presence of Ohrmazd, (and) through what he sees, realises and obtains he becomes glad.

(30.4) Ohrmazd, the beneficent Creator is a spirit even among spirits, and the spiritual beings vision of him is (like) that which is manifest to the material beings through watching the spiritual beings.

(30.5) But when through the great +kindness of the Creator the spiritual beings put on worldly appearances, or moreover, when they give a spiritual sense of sight to the beings of the material world, then the consciousness can see the spiritual beings through a worldly sense in just such a way as when one sees bodies in which the soul is, or when one sees fire in which is +Wahrām, or when one sees water in which is its own spirit.

(30.6) But at that introduction Ohrmazd sees the soul assuredly, because Ohrmazd sees all things.

(30.7) And also the soul of the +righteous, in as much as it perceives (something) of Ohrmazd through a spiritual sense, becomes delighted by what it is shown of Ohrmazd.

(30.8) u-š ahlawān ī andar wahišt kē-š andar gētīg paywand ud dōst ud ham-dēn ud ham-gāh [1] būd hēnd dōšāram [2] nimāyišnīh ud drōd [3] pursišnīh mānāg burzišnīgīh ī az madan ī ō wahišt ī u-š hamē nēk būdē andar wahišt gōwēnd.

(30.9) ud āmār ī pad wināh ud kirbag abar wahištīgān nē bawēd xwad andar ēn mādayān škeft pursišnīh cē ruwān ī widardagān be ō wahišt kard-āmārīh ud tōxt-wināhīhā ēdōn rasēd ī ka-š tā fraš(a)gird ānōh gāh ud ō nōg āmār a-niyāz.

(30.10) ud ān ī āmār bawēd pad hangām ī āmār <bawēd> āmārgar ohrmazd wahman mihr srōš rašn har(w) ēk pad xwēš hangām hamāg pad rāstīh āmār kunēnd ciyōn pad dar ī xwēš pāsox nibišt.

(30.11) ān ī xwarišn rāy pursīd gētīg xwarišnān pad dō rāh bawēd ēk a-caxšišn [4] ī az awištāb ī az āz ēk pad urwāzišn ī ō frazāmišn <ī> andar wahišt awištāb ī az āz nēst ud pad wēš-rāmišnīh urwāz.

(30.12) pad ān homānāg ī ciyōn gētīgān ī az xwarišn ī urwāzišnīgīh [5] frazāmīhēnd ān-iz ruwān mēnōgīg frazāmišn rāmišn ham-andāzagīhā awiš rasišnīg [6] u-š pad nimāyišn ī ō gētīgān nām [7] mēdyōzarm rōyn.

(30.13) u-š cim ī ān nām ēn kū andar [8] gētīgīg xwarišn ān ī az gōspandān bar pāšom guft ēstēd andar ān ī gōspandān bar pad xwarišnīh šīr ud andar šīr rōyn ud andar rōyn ān [ī] pad wehīh stāyīd ēstēd ī dudīgar māh ī az sāl ka mihr pad gāw axtar bawēd gīrēnd ciyōn ān māh [ī] dēnīg zarmiyā [9] xwānīhēd. nām āmārišn ud nimāyišn ēn kū-š handāzag ī gētīgīg ān ī pāšom xwarišn ī andar gētīg.

(30.14) ud ān ī ahlawān ruwān az wahišt ud garōdmān be ayār-dahišnīh nē bawēd cē ān ī purr urwāhm axwān ēg-iš nē az-iš ayāsišnīh be-š har(w) kas awiš purr ayāsišn ast.

1. DF: hm nk'’s; J1, J2, H, BK: hm wyhyh
2. TD, BK: dw'’šlm; others: dwšlm
3. Text: ŠWM; BK: šnwmn'
4. Text: ’chššn'; J1, J2, H, DF: ’chš’n'
5. DF: ’wrw’cšnyh Y
6. DF: ls’nyh
7. Thus TD, BK, DF; text: d’m
8. Thus J1, J2, H, DF; others: B̲YN gyty̲d̲y̲
9. Thus TD; text: zlm’h

(30.8) And the righteous in heaven who have been his relatives and friends, and are of the same religion and the same place in the world, show him affection and enquire after his health and (shows) similar respect for his coming to heaven and tell him: ‘welcome to heaven!’

(30.9) And there will be no reckoning as to the sins and good deeds of the heavenly ones — this is itself among the difficult questions (dealt with) in this treatise — for the souls of the departed arrive in heaven after the accounting has been done and (their) sins atoned, so that their place is there until the renovation and there is no need for a new accounting.

(30.10) And that accounting is at the time of accounting. Those who perform the accounting (are) Ohrmazd, Wahman, Mihr, Srōš, and Rašn, each at his own time. They will all perform the accounting with justice, according to the reply written in its own chapter.

(30.11) As to that which (you) asked about food: worldly meals are (consumed) in two ways: one +without tasting, from haste due to greed, and the other with enjoyment to the end. In heaven there is no haste or greed but enjoyment with much delight.

(30.12) Just as those worldly creatures become perfected by joyful food, in like manner spiritual perfection and joy reach the soul, and in its appearance to worldly creatures (this) is +called +‘spring butter’.

(30.13) And the reason for that name is this: it is said that the best earthly food (comes) from the products of cattle, and among the products of cattle used as food milk (is the best), and amongst milk (products) butter (is the best), and amongst butters (the best is) that which is extolled for its goodness, which they obtain in the second month of the year, when +Mihr is in the constellation of Taurus, as that month is called Zarmiyā in the religion. The interpretation and explanation of the name is this, that the earthly equivalent of that (i.e. heavenly food) is the best food in the world.

(30.14) And the soul of the righteous does not +help (anyone) from heaven and *Garōdmān*, because there is no longing (to go) away from that joyful existence, but every one is full of longing (to go) towards it.

(30.15) be ham ruwān gētīg gētīgān xwēšīgān ham-nāfān ayādīhēd ān ī hu-ayād [1] a-brādarōd [2] a-petyārag ud hamāg-rāmišn gētīg ī ciyōn pad fraš(a)gird bawēd urwāzēd pad xwēš hangām [3] ud madan awiš ayāst.

(30.16) ud ham ruwān āsānīh ud rāmišn ud urwāhm ī andar wahišt ud garōdmān pad paymān ristag ud ēwēn ī xwēš kirbag.

(30.17) hamāg ēwēnīg āsānīh rāmišn ī ciyōn gētīgīhā az mard ī dōst ī dānāg ān paristag ī tarsāgāh ud abārīgān mardān ī frahixtišnīgān ēd-iz az [4] nārīg ī hu-kirb ī hu-šarm [ī] šōy-kāmag ān ī *ēr-mānag ī *paristār ud abārīgān nārīgān ī sūd-abgārān ēd-iz az stōrān pahān dadān murwān māhīgān [ud] abārīg gōspand sardagān ēd cē az rōšnān ātaxšān hu-tazišnān wādān ud brāzīdagān [5] *ayōxšustān [6] xwēn ābgēnagān [7] ēd-iz ī az *pargān [8] būm xānag hamist zamīgān ī hu-dāhagān ēd-iz ī az rōdān ud xānīgān cāhān [9] ud hamist āb sardagān ēd-iz ī az dārān ud draxtān ud mēwagān ī narm ud jordāyān [10] ud wāstarān ud tarragān ud sprahmagān ud abārīg urwarān ēd-iz ī [az] zamīg passāzišnīh ī im-šān ī dām [ud] hamist dahišnān. ēd cē-<az>ēwēnagān <ud> mizagān ud bōyān ud gōnagān [11] ī xwaš hamāg cihrān zōrān kārān axwān abzārān be ō margōmandān madan šāyēd az ān mēnōg kirbagīg pad hangōšīdag ud homānāgīh ī dīdārag narān ud nārīgān ud gōspandān ud ātaxšān ī ādurān hāmōyēn ayōxšustān ud *sigān [12] ud zamīgān ud ābān ud urwarān passazagīhā kirbag mēnōgīg ō ān ruwān abyōxt pad pāyag [ud] paymān ī-šān zōr ī az kirbag rāyēnīdārīh ī ān ahlaw ō [13] ān ī ahlaw pad rāmēnīdārīh sazāg hu-nāmīhā [14] ud abāyišnīgīhā ud sazišnīh ud hamēšag rāmišn paywastagīhā ud a-jomā-bēšīhā ayābēd was-iz urwāhmīhēd <ī> ī-š andar gētīg az bun handāzag nē wht' (?) be ō ān ī wahištīgān ud

1. J1, J2: 'byd't
2. Emended by ed.; text has 'blmtlwt'
3. TD: hwyš 'n'm; DF: 'wyš'n ŠM
4. Thus text; others: HNA MNW
5. Text: bl'p''k'n
6. Text: 'ywkšwst' for 'ywkhšwst'
7. Text: 'wn''k'n'yk
8. Text: plyk'n
9. Text: ch'n
10. Text: ywlt''n
11. Test: wnyny'n; H: nkwnk'n; DF: wynyšn'
12. Emended by ed. to syg'n while it should be emended to *sk'n = sigān (written syg in Dd. xvi.4); text has: KLBA-'n
13. BK omits
14. Text: hwd'myh'; others: hw-ŠM-yhyh

(30.15) But the soul thinks of the world and his worldly friends and relatives, these (things) which are +good to remember, without rivalry and without antagonism, and a world full of pleasure, as it will be in the renovation; and he rejoices in his time and longs to come to it,

(30.16) And likewise the comfort, pleasure and joy of the soul in heaven is in proportion to the kind and manner of his own good deeds.

(30.17) All kinds of comfort and joy as (there are) in the world, (such as what may come) from a man who is a wise friend, (or) a reverent servant, or other cultured men, this (i.e. comfort) also (which may come) from a beautiful, modest, and husband-loving woman, (or) a humble maid servant, or other +beneficial women; this also (which may come) from +large and small cattle, wild beasts, birds, fishes, and other species of animals; this also (which may come) from bright fires, well-blowing winds, shining metals and +bright crystals; this also (which may come) from +walls and lands, houses and all +well-fertilised lands; this also (which may come) from rivers and springs, wells, and all kinds of water; this also (which may come) from trees and shrubs, soft fruits, grain and fodder, vegetables, flowers, and other plants; this also (which may come) from the cultivation of the earth by (?) these creatures and all creation; these pleasant tastes and fragrances and colours of all types, all natures, powers, people, beings, (and) abilities can come to mortals; (all these) on account of his spiritual good deeds are attached to the soul, in the manner and likeness of a vision, males and females, cattle, +fires of fire (temples), metals of every kind, (precious) +stones, lands, water and plants, as befits (his) +spiritual merits; in the degree and proportion of their strength (resulting) from that righteous man's achievement of good works, that righteous man is worthy of pleasure and obtains good reputation, and what is seemly and fitting and constant comfort with no pain. He is also so joyful that no example is *+wht'* (?) in the

garōdmānīgān ēdōn rasēd ī-š ān-iz ī abardom nēkīh ud rāmišn ī gētīgīg nē hangōšīdag.

(30.18) be pad āgāh-dārīh ī ō gētīgān nimūnag guftan [ud] nimūdan ī az gētīg enyā kanāragōmand abāg a-kanārag ud a-sazišnīg abāg sazišnīg [ud] kāhišnīg [1] abāg a-kāhišnīg ham-hangōšīdag nē bawēd.

(30.19) ud gētīg ast kanāragōmand ud sazišnīg ī kāhišnīg ī ān ī a-sar-rōšnīh ast a-sazišnīg a-kāhišnīg ud ān ī hamāg-sūd ganj hamēīg sūd an-abesīhišnīg ud ān ī rōšn garōdmān wisp-urwāhm a-jomā bēš.

(30.20) ud ān ī ahlaw andar wahišt ud garōdmān gāh ān ī mizd fradom ayābed [2] u-š tā rist-āxēz [3] ka gētīg-iz abēzag [ud] a-petyārag bawēd xwad az-iš a-wardišnīg pad rist-āxēz [4] ān meh ud weh pāšom ayābed [5] ud jāwēdān xwārīhēd.

PURSIŠN 31

(31.1) 31-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū ān ī druwand ka ō dušox šawēd ciyōn šawēd cē ēwēnag šawēd u-š kē ō padīrag āyēd u-š kē nayēd ō dušox u-š az dušōxīgān kas ō padīrag āyēd ayāb ciyōn bawēd u-š pādifrāh ī wināh ī-š kard pad ēw-bār abar kunēnd ayāb-iš tā tan ī pasēn ān ham pādifrāh ast? u-šān andar dušox xwarišn cē bawēd u-šān dard ud duš-xwārīh pad cē ēwēnag ast dušox sāmān paydāg ast ayāb ciyōn ast?

(31.2) pāsox ēd kū ān ī druwandān ruwān pas az be widerišnīh [6] šab ī tasum kard āmār az puhl ī cinwad nigūn gardēd ud *kafēd.[7]

(31.3) u-š wizarš [8] dēw sēzdēnīhā bastag nayēd [9] u-š nayēd be ō dušox.

[1]- Emended by ed.; text has k'ššny'
[2]- Text: h'cyt'
[3]- Text: lyst 'hc
[4]- Text: lyst 'hc'
[5]- Text: h'cyt'
[6]- Ed. emends to: BRA mylšnyh or: plwt' YMYTWN-šnyh
[7]- Text: kpynyt'
[8]- Text: wyzl'š
[9]- Text: n'yt'; TD: 'yt'

world from the beginning, but (that happiness) comes to those who are in heaven and those in *Garōdmān* in such a way that even the highest worldly happiness and pleasure were no comparison.

(30.18) But for the sake of enlightening the worldly beings (it is necessary) to tell them and to show them an example from the material world, otherwise there is no similarity between the limited and the unlimited, the perpetual and the transient, (or) the diminishing and the undiminishable.

(30.19) The material world is limited, transient, diminishing, and the endless light is perpetual (and) undiminishing, and that all-beneficial treasury is ever-beneficial (and) imperishable, and the bright *Garōdmān* is all joy with no pain.

(30.20) And one who is righteous at first obtains a place and reward in heaven and *Garōdmān*, and it is his until the resurrection, when the world also becomes pure and unassailed, and he becomes unchangeable thereby, and through the resurrection he obtains what is greater and better (and) most excellent and is happy for ever.

QUESTION 31

(31.1) The thirty-first question (you) asked is that: when one who is wicked goes to hell, how does he go? In what manner does he go, and who comes to meet him, and who conducts him to hell, and does anyone of the denizens of hell come to meet him, or how is it? And do they punish him for the sins which he has done all at once, or is his punishment the same until the final body? And what is their food in hell, and how is their pain and discomfort? And is the limit of hell manifest, or how is it?

(31.2) The reply is this: on the fourth night after departure, the soul of the wicked, having been judged, topples head first from the Cīnwad bridge and falls down.

(31.3) And the demon +Wizarš conducts him, oppressively fettered, and leads him to hell.

(31.4) u-š abāg bawēnd mēnōg dēw ī hambūsīd [1] az ān ī ōy wināh pad was cihrag ud gāh [2] mānāg ī wimuštārān-iz rēšīdārān[3] ōzanišngarān murnjēnīdārān marān duš-kirbān bazag-ēwēnagān ud an-abāyistān *a-carātīgān [4](?) rēmanān gazāgān [5] darrāgān xrafstarān gandagān wādān tārīkān gandagān [6] sōzāgān tišnagān *gušnagān [7] *anābuhlān [8] ud abārīg frahist wināhēnāgān ud dardēnāgān kē-š pad hangōšīdag ī gētīg bēš-kardārān mēnōgīg abāg bawēnd.

(31.5) u-š ham handāzag [ī] zōr [ud] nērōg ī-šān az ān ī ōy wināh dād ān ī tā be ō fraš(a)gird zamān an-āsānīhā dardēnēnd [ud] bēšēnēnd.[9] ud pad ān ī wizarš [10] nīdārīh a-kāmagīhā āyēd be ō dušox ud handēmānīhēd ō druz ud gan(n)āg ud pašēmānīhēd az frēbišn ī *waranīgīhā [11] kāmagīh ud az dušox abāz ayāstār ō gētīg ud škeft ārzōg ō kirbag.

(31.6) u-š xwarišn pad handāzag ī ān ī andar [gētīg] [12] gandagtom pūdagtom rēmantom ud a-xwašīhtom u-š xwardan nē pad urwāzišn frazāmišn be pad niyāz ī-š az āz awištābīhēd ud gursag ud tišnag dārēd <juxt [13]>.

(31.7) az ān bazag-ēwēnagīh u-š nē bawēd sagrīh be-š abzāyēd awištāb u-š ān dard ud pādifrāh ud awištāb dagrīh.

(31.8) gyāg-iš [14] andar dušox nē sāmānīhēd pēš az rist-āxēz tā fraš(a)gird zamānag andar dušox.

(31.9) u-š wināh *frāzīg [15] ān pādifrāh paywastag. u-š ān pādifrāh az druz [ud] mēnōg ī xwēš wināh <ī> pad ān ēwēnag ud handāzag abar rasēd ī-š āzārīd ud bēšīd ud ān ī wattar yašt ud stūd [ud] paristīd.

1- Thus J1, J2, H: hmbwsyt'; text: hmbwst'; BK, TD: hmwwsyt'; DF: hmbwstk'
2- Text: nk's
3- TD: lyštw'l'n'
4- Text: 'ncl'tyk'n
5- TD: gc'n
6- TD omits.
7- Text: dwš gnn'k'n
8- Text: 'n'p'hl'n
9- Text: byššnynynd; J1: byšdynynynd; BK: byšyšn' ynynd
10- Text: wyzl'š
11- All MSS: wlykyh'; ed. has emended to wlwnykyh'
12- Added by ed.
13- TD: hwht
14- Text: gyw'kyh
15- Text: pl'ck'

(31.4) And with him there are the spirits of the demons produced from his sins in various forms and places, similar to those who are destroyers, +damagers, slayers, destroyers, felons, uglies, criminals (and) unworthy (people), +those who are shameless, (?) polluted, those who bite, those who tear, noxious creatures, fetid winds, glooms, burning stenches, thirsty ones, +hungry ones, those who are not atoned, and many other (demons) who incite people to sin and cause suffering, who make trouble for (him) in the spiritual world as in the material world (*gētīg*).

(31.5) And in the same proportion as the strength and power which is +given to them (i.e. the demons) by his sins, they make him experience torment and pain without respite until the time of renovation; and he comes to hell unwillingly under the guidance of Wizarš. (Then) he is introduced to the *druz* and the Evil one (i.e. Ahriman). He is regretful of the delusion of +lust and desire, and from hell he remembers again the material world, and he has a great desire for good deeds.

(31.6) +And his food is similar to the most fetid, most rotten, most polluted, and most unpleasant food in the world; and he does not eat with delight (and) fulfilment, but he is impelled by need, which is due to greed, and is kept hungry and thirsty,

(31.7) because of that sin. He has no satisfaction, but his oppression increases and (so does) the length of his pain and punishment and oppression.

(31.8) His place in hell is not limited, (but) before the resurrection until the time of renovation (he is) in hell.

(31.9) And (because) his sin (is) +increasing that punishment is continuous. That punishment comes to him from the *druz* (and) the spirit of his own sin in the form and proportion in which he tormented and hurt others, and worshipped and praised and served that which is evil.

(31.10) pad fraš(a)gird zamānag ka wānīhēd ān druz ān ruwānān ī druwandān 3 rōz andar āhan ī widāxtag widārēnd. hamāg druzān duš-menišnān ī-šān az ān wināh <ud> pad burišn ud škenišn ī ān āmēxtagīh ī ān ī druwandān ruwān wināh passazīgīhā dardīhēnd [1] ud *awištābīhēnd [2] ud pad ān ī abardom šōyišnīh pad ān ī widāxtag āhan be yōjdahrīhēnd az gast rēbag [3] ud pad xwābarīh ud aboxšīdārīh ī xwābarān xwābartom āmurzīhēnd ud az didom abēzagān bawēnd ciyōn pad hangōšīdag guft ēstēd kū abēzagān bawēnd 2 ēwēnag: ēk ī an-ālūd ēk ī āsnūd.[4]

(31.11) pas az ān yōjdahrīh nē bawēnd dēwān nē pādifrāh nē dušox ī abar druwandān awēšān-iz wirāstag bawēnd [5] rāst bawēnd ahlaw a-dard a-marg ud a-bīm ud abē-anāgīh.

(31.12) u-šān abāg rasēd mēnōg ī ān kirbag ī-šān kard ud rāyēnīd ēstēd andar gētīg. u-šān rāmišn ud urwāhm ayābēd pad pāyag [ud] paymānag ī ān kirbag.

(31.13) be ruwān ī ahlawān pādāšn [6] [ī] weh-dādīh [ud] wēš kirbagīh gāh [ī] weh ud pāyag [ī] meh rāmišn ud šādīh wēš bawēd.

PURSIŠN 32

(32.1) 32-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū dušox pad kadām kustag ud kadām zamīg ud ciyōn ast?

(32.2) pāsox ēd kū gyāg ī druwandān ruwān pas az frōd mīrišnīh ī tan pad 3 wimand:

(32.3) u-š ēk hamēstagān ī druwandān xwānīhēd gumēzag ast be anāgīh wasīhā ud frāyīhā wēš az nēkīh ud gyāg sahmgēn [7] tārīk ud gandag ud garān anāgīh.

(32.4) ud ēk ān ī wattom axwān xwānīhēd ast fradom *wixrūnīgān [8] ud dēw[ān] māništ ānōh dārēnd ud anāgīh ud pādifrāh purr ud āsānīh ud rāmišn ēc nēst.

1. Text:dlt' YHSN-nd
2. Text, TD: ʾwyšt'p'YHSN- nd; DF: ʾwšt'pynd
3. Text: lyypk'
4. Text: ʾsn' tn'
5. Emended by ed.; text: YHWWN-yt
6. Text: pt'š
7. Text: smkyn'
8. Text: wyhlws'n; TD, BK: wšlwyšn'

(31.10) At the time of renovation, when the druz is conquered, the souls of the wicked pass through molten metal for 3 days; (and) all the evil-minded *druzān* who +(were ...) by their sin suffer appropriately and are oppressed by the destruction and breaking-up of the (state of) mixture (caused) by the sins of the souls of the wicked; and through that supreme washing with molten metal, they become purified from the +horrible deceit, and they are forgiven and become pure +again by the benevolence and mercy of (him who is) supreme one among the benevolent. For, it is said likewise that (men) become pure in two ways: one which is unmixed (with sin), and one which is purified.

(31.11) And after that purification there will be no demons, no punishment and no hell for the wicked; they too, are saved (from sin) and become upright; they become righteous, pain-free, immortal, fearless, and free from evil.

(31.12) And the spirit of the good works which they have +done or have arranged in the world, reaches them, and they obtain comfort and pleasure according to the degree and proportion of those good works.

(31.13) But the reward of the souls of the righteous on account of (their) belief in the Good Religion and having more good deeds, is a better position and a greater place (in heaven) (and their) comfort and happiness is more.

QUESTION 32

(32.1) The thirty-second question (you) asked is that: on which side and (in) what location is hell, and how is it?

(32.2) The reply is this, that the place of the souls of the wicked after the death of the body is in three directions.

(32.3) One of them is called the +limbo (hamēstagān) of the wicked, and it is mixed with evil much more than good, and it is a +terrible, dark, and fetid place (with) grievous evil.

(32.4) And one is that which is called the worst existence, (and) it is the first (place of) +tormentors (?) and the demons have (their) abode there. It is full of evil and torture and there is no comfort nor pleasure.

(32.5) ēk druzaskān [1] xwānīhēd ast pad bun ī xān ī tom kū dēwān kamālīg [2] dwārēd ānōh hamāg tār ud hamāg anāgīh ābād mān.

(32.6) ēd 3 gyāg pad hangirdīg dušox xwānīhēd ast abāxtarīg ud nigūnīg ud azērīg ī ēn zamīg ud tā-z abardom nigūnīh ī asmān [3] u-š dar pad zamīg az abāxtar nēmag gyāg ē(w) ast arezūr grīwag xwānīhēd. kōf ē(w) ī pad ham kōf ī arezūr [4] nām kē andar kōfīg [5] kōfān pad dēwān meh [6] nām andar dēn guft ēstēd dēwān andar gētīg ham-dwārišnīh ud hanjaman pad sar ī ān kōf ciyōn ān ī arezūr kamāl xwānīhēd.

PURSIŠN 33

(33.1) 33-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū az cagād ī dāitī rāh ē(w) ī ašōān ō wahišt ud ēk ī druwandān ō dušox u-š ciyōnīh pad cē ēwēnag ast?

(33.2) pāsox ēd kū ēk ō ulīh ud ēk ō nigūnīh ud har(w) dō az ēk mayānag [7] ēn was ō šnāsišn be cāšišn [8] rāy nibēsēm [9] kū: ān ī ahlawān ruwān pad cinwad puhl widerēnd pad mēnōg wāzišnīh ud ān ī kirbag zōr ul ō star ayāb ō māh ayāb ō xwaršēd pāyag ayāb ān ī a-sar-rōšnīh franāmēnd. ān ī druwandān ruwān az puhl *ōftēnd [10] u-š druxtār dēw ud rēman[īh] az ān ī ōy wināh hambastag [11] <u-š> andar zamīg ō nigūnīh nayēnd ciyōn har(w) do rāh az ān puhl ī abar dāitī cagād.

PURSIŠN 34

(34.1) 34-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū ēn gētīg abē-mardōm be bawēd ēdōn kū ēc astōmand andar nē bawēd ud pas rist-āxēz kunēnd ayāb ciyōn bawēd?

1. TD: 'st'nk'; H: 's'n; J1, J2, DF: 'sd'n
2. Text: km'l'k'
3. Text:'s'm'n', J1, J2, H, DF:'sym'n'
4. Text: 'lwzwl
5. Thus text; ed. has emended to: BYN-c npyk'
6. Text: myh for: ms
7. Emended by ed.; Text, Bk, DF: m'šnk'
8. Text: cyššn
9. TD: LA YTYBWN-m
10. Text: 'wptšnyh
11. TD:hmb'stk'; BK, K35: hmbwsyt'; J1, J2, H, DF: hmbwst'

(32.5) One is called druzaskān, (which is) at the bottom of the house of darkness, where the head of the demons runs; it is a crowded place of all darkness and evil.

(32.6) These three places, together, are called hell. It is to the north and downwards and below this earth, and it also (reaches) to the outermost limit of the sky, and its gate to the earth is on the northern side, (where) there is a place which is called the neck of +Arezūr, a mountain within that same mountain (range) bearing the name of Arezūr, which among (all) the mountains is said in the religion to have the greatest fame with the demons, because the demons in the material world rush and gather on the top of that mountain, so that it is called the head of Arezūr.

QUESTION 33

(33.1) The thirty-third question: how is the way of the righteous to heaven, and the one of the wicked to hell from the Dāitī peak?

(33.2) The reply is this: one is upwards and one is downwards and both (ways start) from the same middle point. I write this much for (you) to understand through (my) teaching: the souls of the righteous pass over the Cinwad bridge in spiritual flight, and the power of (their) meritorious deeds leads them upwards to the stars, or to the moon, or to the station of the sun, or to the endless light. The souls of the wicked fall down from the bridge, and the deceitful demon and the defilement (caused) by their sins lead him bound and downwards into the earth; for both ways are from that bridge on the Dāitī peak.

QUESTION 34

(34.1) The thirty-fourth question: will this world become completely depopulated, so that there will be no corporeal being in it, and afterwards will they (i.e. the renovators) produce the resurrection, or how will it be?

(34.2) pāsox ēd kū ēn gētīg hamēšag az āfurišn tā-z ō abēzag fraš-kardārīh hagriz[1] abē-mardōm nē būd nē-z bawēd ud gan(n)āg mēnōg [ī] a-weh ēn rawāg-kāmagīh nē hāzēd.

(34.3) ud nazd ō zamānag ī fraš(a)gird astōmandān az xwardārīh be ēstēnd pad a-xwarišnīh zīwēnd ud frazand az awēšān zāyēnd ān ī anōšag ēd cē dagr-pattāy ud anagr(āy)[2] kirb dārēnd.

(34.4) ēdōn kē[3] astōmandān mardōmān ast ī pad gētīg hēnd ka widardān mardōmān ast ī abāz āxēzēnd[4] ud abāz zīwēnd.

PURSIŠN 35

(35.1) 35-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū awēšān kē[5] andar fraš-kardārīh andar abāyēnd kē hēnd kē bawēnd ciyōn hēnd?

(35.2) pāsox ēd kū abāyišnīgān[6] ī pad ān ī pāšom kār gōkānī[g] ōšmurd drāz cē gayōmart jamšēd ud zardušt spītāmān ašōān rad ud wasān wuzurg spāsān abzār ī fraš(a)gird frazāmēnīd rāy brēhēnē[n]d. azišān wuzurg abd ud a-wizīrišnīg rāyēnīdārīh abar raft[7] ī ō kardan ī fraš(a)gird kunēd.

(35.3) pad-iz ān ī fraš(a)gird nazdīkīh sāmān kersāsp kē dahāk wānēd ud kay xusrō kē[8] wāy ī dagrand-xwadāy *widārīhēd[9] ud tūs ud wēw abāg ān abārīg cand wuzurg kunišnān ayār hēnd fraš-kardārīh.

(35.4) be ān ī wāspuhragānīgtar fraš(a)gird kardār 7 guft ēstēd ī-šān nām rōšncašm xwarcašm *frādat-xwarrah[10] wīdat-xwarrah[11] ud kāmag-nyāyišn[12] kāmag-sūd ud sōšāns.

(35.5) ciyōn guft ēstēd kū andar 57 sāl ī rist-āxēzišnīh zamānag rōšncašm pad arzah ud xwarcašm pad sawah frādat-xwarrah pad

1. Text: hkwlc
2. J1, J2, DF, H: hwwyl'd; BK: hwdl'g
3. Thus BK, K35; other MSS: MN
4. Text: h'c-ynd
5. BK: MN
6. Text: 'pxššnyk'n
7. BK:YATWN-'d
8. Text: MNW MN; BK: MNW MNW; J1, J2, H, DF: omit MNW MN
9. Text: wt'lynyt'; J1: wtylynyt'
10. Text: pl'ytı TD: plšyt'
11. Text: w'nyt'- GDE
12. Emended by ed.; Text has: k'mk whššn'

(34.2) The reply is this, that the world has never been, and also will never be depopulated, the whole time from the creation right up to the pure renovation; and the +evil *gan(n)āg mēnōg* (Evil Spirit) will not achieve the fulfilment of his desire.

(34.3) Material beings will stop eating near the time of the renovation and live without eating, and immortal offspring will be born from them, because they will have durable and +infinite bodies.

(34.4) It is so in the case of (those) who (are) corporeal men (living) in the world; in the case of dead men, they will rise again and live again.

QUESTION 35

(35.1) The thirty-fifth question: who are those who are necessary for making the renovation, who will they be, and how are they?

(35.2) The answer is this, that a detailed count of those who are necessary for accomplishing that most perfect work is a lengthy business, for Gayōmart, Jamšēd, and Zardušt the Spitāmān, the master of the righteous, and many great assistants will produce the means for completing the renovation. Through them there come about the great wonders and necessary arrangements which cause the making of the renovation.

(35.3) Likewise, near the time of renovation, Kersāsp the Sāmān who conquers Dahāk, and Kay Xusrō, who is transported by Wāy of the long dominion, and Tūs and Wēw, with the many other doers of great deeds, will help to make the renovation.

(35.4) But the most particular +renovation-makers are said to be seven, whose names are: Rōšncašm, Xwarcašm, Frādat-xwarrah, Wīdat-xwarrah, and Kāmag-nyāyišn, Kāmag-sūd, and Sōšāns.

(35.5) As it is said: in the fifty-seven years, which is the period of the raising of the dead, Rōšncašm (will be) in Arzah, and Xwarcašm in Savah,

fradadafš [1] ud wīdat-xwarrah pad wīdadafš kāmag-nyāyišn [2] pad wōrūbaršt ud kāmag-sūd pad wōrūjaršt ud sōšāns pad xwanirah ī bāmīg abēzag.

(35.6) paywast-axwīh bowandag-ham-wēnišnīh [3] spurīgīhā-dānišnīh ud purr-xwarrahīh ī ān haftān fraš(a)gird-kardārān ēdōn abd kū az kišwar be ō kišwar har(w) ēk ō 6 āgenēn ēdōn ham-pursēnd ciyōn nūn mardōm ō ham-wēnišnīh ham-gōwišnīh ud ham-kunišnīh pad uzwān ēk ō did saxwan gōwēnd ud ham-pursagīh kunēnd.

(35.7) ham pāšom-kunišnān pad 6 sāl andar 6 kišwar pad 50 sāl andar xwanirah [ī] bāmīg a-margīh win(n)ārēnd hamē-zīndagīh ud hamē-sūdīh [4] rawāgēnēnd pad ayārīh zōr [ud] xwarrah ī wisp-āgāh spenāg mēnōg dādār ohrmazd.

PURSIŠN 36

(36.1) 36-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū rist-āxēz ciyōn kunēnd ud rist ciyōn wirāyēnd. ka-šān rist wirāst bawēd ciyōn bawēnd. ka-šān kard bawēd ā-šān [5] rōšnīh ī star ud māh ud xwaršēd andar abāyēd būd [6] ayāb nē. ud drayā(b) [7] ud rōd ud kōf andar bawēd ayāb nē. ud gēhān ham-cand [ī] ēn bawēd ayāb wēštar ud frāxtar bawēd?

(36.2) pāsox ēd kū wirāst kardan ī rist-āxēz abāg abd-passāxtīh ud wuzurgīh pas-iz škeft-sahišnīh [ī] abar dāmān kē an-āgāh hēnd [pad] ān [ī] xwābar dādār rāzān cišān. ciyōn har(w) nihuft rāz bē xwad ōy ī har(w)-dānišn ī purr-āgāh ī wispān-wisp enyā ēc az gētīgān ud mēnōgān ī anaspurr nē *dānēd. [8]

(36.3) rāst gōwišn[īh] andar šnāsišn ī gētīgān āškārag kū ciyōn hammōxtag [ud] framuštag frahang abāz hammōxtan az ān ī an-hammōxt āsāntar <pad hammōxtan> ud *dēsīdag [9] [ud] hambastag xānag abāz wirāstan az ān [ī] *a-dēsīdag [10] āsāntar ēdōn-iz ān ī brēhēnīd brēhēnišnīh hugartar ud škeftīh kam az dām-dahišnīh. ud

1. Text: pldt'pš
2. Emended by ed.; text: k'mk whššn
3. Emended by ed.; Text has: w'mnšnyh
4. Thus all MSS; text, TD: swdkyh
5. K35 and BK have whššn'
6. Emended by ed.; text: YHWWN-yt'
7. TD: dlht
8. Text: YDOYTWNst'
9. Text: d'ytk
10. Text: 'd'stwyhyt'; BK: 'dhytkwyhyt'

and Frādat-xwarrah in Fradadafš, and Wīdat-xwarrah in Wīdadafš, and Kāmag-nyāyišn in Wōrūbaršt, and Kāmag-sūd in Wōrūjaršt, and Sōšāns in the glorious and pure Xwanīrah.

(35.6) The like-mindedness, perfect agreement, complete knowledge and gloriousness of these seven renovation-makers are so wonderful that they each consult with the six others, from continent to continent, just as now people speak and consult one another with the tongue (i.e. by speaking in person) in order to agree in opinions, in words and in deeds.

(35.7) Likewise, these (renovation makers) whose works are perfect establish immortality and propagate everlasting life and everlasting advantage, for six years in the six continents, and for fifty years in the glorious Xwanirah, through the help and strength and glory of the omniscient and beneficent spirit, the Creator Ohrmazd.

QUESTION 36

(36.1) +The thirty-sixth question: How will they bring about the resurrection, and how will they restore the dead, and when the dead are restored by them, how will they be? When it (i.e. the resurrection) is performed by them, is it necessary for the light of the stars, moon and sun to be upon them or not, and will there be seas, rivers, and mountains or not, and will the world be the same size as this present (world) or will it be larger and wider?

(36.2) +The reply is this: The accomplishment of the resurrection is (done) with wondrous and extraordinary power; hence the astonishment with which this is seen by creatures who are ignorant of the secrets and the matters of the beneficent Creator. For no one of the imperfect material or spiritual beings have the knows every hidden secrets +except he himself, who is all-knowing and fully informed of all of everything.

(36.3) Speaking the truth concerning the knowledge of material beings is manifest as follows. Just as it is easier to learn again the knowledge one has learnt and forgotten than something never learnt, and it is easier to repair the fallen house which has been built than one which has not been built, it is also easier to create that which has been created and its difficulty is less than the creation of the creatures. For the wisdom and splendour of the omniscient and omnipotent Creator, who created the creatures +without

pad xrad ud xwarrah [ī] wisp-āgāh wisp-tuwān dādār kē-š a-raxt dām dād ān ī škast nōg abāz dād nē *škeft [1] bē andak huzārag.

(36.4) ōh-iz dādār ī dahišn dād ān ī mēnōg dām abēzag [ud] an-āhōgēnīd ud ān-iz ī gētīgīg dām a-marg ud a-zarmān ud a-sōyišn ud a-pōyišn ud a-bēš ud a-dard tā ka candīd andar tom dušīh [ī] druz kē [nē] xrad rāst wizēngar [ud] nē wehīh ī [2] spenāgīg bē ast *šken(n)āg [ud] margēnāg ud duš-āgāh ud frēbāg ud purr-kēn ud wiyābānēnāg ud wišōbāg ud nang-gar [ud] wanīgar ud purr-arešk.

(36.5) u-š *astīh [3] purr ast [az] kēn ud frēb ud wiyābāngarīh wanīdārīh ud wišōbišngarīh ud zadārīh kū nē ēwāz be ō hambadīgān [4] ud padīragīgān bē aw-iz xwēšīgān ud ham-gundān *ham-sarān [5] anāg-kām ud wiyābānēnāg ud wišōbāg ud wanēnāg ud kēnēnāg ud arešk-burdār.

(36.6) u-š az xwēš bun zofāy ī purr tār nihād ō tār sāmān ud rōšnān wimand.

(36.7) u-š pad sahmagīh [6] ud uskār ī dēwīg nigerīd ō rōšn ud an-āhōg dām ī ohrmazd spenāg.

(36.8) u-š pad arešk ī purr-kēnwarīh ī spurr-druxtārīh nixwārīd ō griftan [ud] wišuftan ud wanēnīdan [ud] abesīhēnīdan ī im hu-kard dām ī yazdān.

(36.9) u-š az zūrag nigerišn pad waran zūr-mihōxtagīhā framūd *ān-iš [7] [ī] pad wany kardan ud [8] xwēš pērōzīh windādan šāyist andar drang-iz 9 hazangrōzam ān ī pad-iš wanīhēd xwad druz.

(36.10) ōy ī abardom rōšnān xwadāyān xwadāytom mēnōgān mēnōgtom wispagān ohrmazd ī dādār kē-š ō har(w) cār tuwān *ayāftan [9] xwad tuwān būd pad andar nē hištan [10] [ī] ōy druz ō parwast ī rōšnān.

1- Text: škstn'
2- TD: w g'h y
3- Text: 'ytwn'
4- Text: hmbntyk'n
5- Text: AMT sl'n
6- Text: smknyh; BK: d'mknyh
7- Text: ZYš
8- Text: Y
9- Text: 'y'ptk'
10- Thus ed.; text: źBKWN-d

trouble, there is no trouble but it is a small and insignificant (matter) to create again that which is broken.

(36.4) Therefore the Creator of the world made the spiritual beings pure and undefiled, and also (he created) the material beings immortal and ageless and incorruptible and devoid of wear, free from suffering and distress, until there erupted in the darkness the wickedness of the *druz*, who does not rightly choose wisdom and the goodness of the beneficent spirit, but +is a destroyer, a killer, an ignoramus, a deceiver, vengeful, seductive, destroyer, a causer of shameful things (?), a waster, a being full of envy.

(36.5) And his existence is so full of hate and deceit and seduction, waste and destruction and smiting that he is malevolent, seductive, harmful, destructive, malicious and envious not only towards his opponents and rivals, but also towards his own people and co-warriors (and) those like (him).

(36.6) And from his essence, (which is) the depth full of darkness, he established a boundary for darkness and a limit to the lights.

(36.7) And he stared at the bright and undefiled creatures of the beneficent Ohrmazd with terror and devilish gaze.

(36.8) And he rushed to seize, destroy, obliterate and ruin these well-formed creatures of the *yazdān* because of his envy, full of vengeance and perfect in falsehood.

(36.9) And due to his false vision (and) through lust he deceitfully commanded that which was necessary for destruction and to attain the victory, in (that same) period of +nine thousand years in which he, the *druz* himself will be destroyed.

(36.10) He who is the highest of luminaries, and the most lordly of lords, and the most spiritual of all spirits, the Creator Ohrmazd, who is able to obtain the means (to do) everything, himself had the power not to allow the *druz* to (enter) the realm of the luminaries.

(36.11) u-š pad xwēš harwisp-dānāgīh šnāxt ān ī ōy druz wattarīh menišn ud zūr-mihōxtīhā handēšišn ud āgāh būd [kū?] pad xwēš āgāhīhā ōy druz ōšyār (?) nē padīrēd ān ī spenāgīg framāyišn ud ān ī rāstīhā bawišn.[1] cē-š nēst ān ī wehīg gōhr [ud] ān ī abzōnīg xrad nē wardēd az rōšnīgān wimand ud wehīgān kōxšišn tā ka rasēd ō dām ud kōxšēd pad uzmān ud parwandīhēd andar asmān [2] ud *drōšīhēd [3] andar razmān ud dardīhēd purr paymān ud uzmānīhēd spurr-sāmān. u-š wišōbīhēd abzārān ud ānābīhēd zōr [4] ī angramanīh ud wanīhēd zēn [ī] druxtārīh ud abesīhēd cār ī frēbāgīh. ud pad bowandagīh [ī] uzmūdagīh ud spurr-dardīh ud škast-spāhīh ud wisist-razmīh ud *abesīhīd [5]-cārīh ul wāzēd [6] ō bērōn [ī] parwast ī rōšnān pad an-ayāsišn ud an-ayāragīh ī did abāz awiš.

(36.12) ham-wisp-wēn dādār <ī> ka-š andar nē hišt ahreman rōšnān ranj [ī] a-kanārag-zamānīhā ēstād [ud] druz pad handēmānīh [ī] ō wimandīgān pad andar nē hilišnīh jāwēdān-ranjīhā ō dāmān hamēīg. druz handēmānīh hamēšag bīmīhā ā-š [7] sahist.

(36.13) u-š pēš-kōxšišn-iz ī druz ka-š any ō rōšnān nē kōxšēd ud zadan <ī> ka-š rōšnān nē zad ud tōzēnīdan ī pēš az winās ud kēnēnīdan ī pēš az kēn ō rāstīh ud dādestānīgīh kē-š a-wardišnīg nām <ud> xwābarīh ud a-kēnīh kē-š ōstīgān ast nē *hamē [8] hangārd. ō ān ī pēš-kōxšīdār[9] druz pas az drōzišn ud kōxšišn ud zanišn ī rōšnīgān dādīg abāz dārišnīh az rōšnān zadārīh rāy abarwēzīh ī xwēš spāh kōxšišn ud ān [ī] zanišn-arzānīg zadār abāz zanišnīh ud ān ī kēnēnīdār [ī] kēnīg abāz-kēnišnīh [ud] ān ī xwēš gāh ēbgat *abāg [10] ān ī angramanīg wattarīh <ud> agārēnišnīh framūd. ud spenāg-kārīhā dīd ī-š pad ān ohrmazdīg xrad ud ān ī mēnōgīg xrad andar ān ī brīnōmand zamānag ud ān ī kanāragōmand gāh ud ān ī sāmānōmand [11] razm ud ān ī paymānag ranj ud ān ī frazāmōmand kār padīrag [ī] druz ī *a-dād-kōxšīdār [12] *dādagīhā [13] kōxšīdan. [ud]

[1]- Text: YHWN-šn; TD: YHWWN-š; DF: YHWWN-šn'
[2]- Thus DF; text: 'sʾmʾn'
[3]- Text: dlwdsyhyt; J1, J2,: dlʾʾyhyt'; DF: dlwʾʾyhyt'
[4]- Text: zwhl
[5]- Text: ʾbydʾt'
[6]- Text: ʾwlwʾcyt'
[7]- DF omits
[8]- Text: hmʾk
[9]- Emended by ed.; MSS: pyšk' dʾtʾl
[10]- Text: LAWHL
[11]- TD: shmʾwmnd
[12]- J1, J2, H; TD: ʾdʾtk dʾštʾl; K35, BK, DF: ʾdʾtk' dʾtʾl; ed. emendation: ʾdʾt kwštʾl
[13]- Emended by Ed.; TD: dʾtk'; others: dʾtwk'

(36.11) (But) through his omniscience he realized the evil thoughts and the falsehood and the deceitful meditation of the *druz*; and by his knowledge he was aware (that) that *druz* will not accept through his own wisdom in full +consciousness the beneficent command and the existence through truth. For he does not have a good nature and a bountiful wisdom, and he will not turn away from the borderline of the light entities and (from) fighting against the good. (This will last) until he reaches the creation, and fights the duel, is surrounded in the sky, is +mutilated in the battles, he is completely +pained, undergoes the full limit of the trial, his weapons are destroyed, his devilish power is warded off, his weapons of deception are ruined, and his means of deceiving perish, and (only) at the completion of the trial, full of pain, with his army defeated, his battle-array broken and all his means destroyed, he will cast out of the realm of the luminaries where he will be forgotten and there will be no more help for him.

(36.12) It seemed to the all-seeing Creator (that) if he did not let Ahreman in, the light entities would suffer pain for ever and there would be trouble for those at the border from the presence of the *druz*; (that) by not letting him in, the eternal distress of the creatures (would be) continual and the terrible presence of the *druz* (would continue) for ever.

(36.13) +To go to a pre-emptive battle against the druz, when that other one is not fighting against the light entities, to smite it when he has not smitten the light entities, to demand expiation before the damage, to demand revenge before an act of vengefulness has taken place — this he did not consider to be right and lawful, he whose unchanging name is kindness and lack of vengefulness, and whose nature is reliable. In order to restrain him according to law from smiting the light entities, he ordered his army to be victorious in battle, to counter-smite the smiter who is worthy of being smitten, to inflict counter-vengeance on the vengeful vengeance-inflicting one, and to make powerless him who attacked his place together with (his) devilish wickedness. (All this was directed) against the *druz* who is the first to wage battle, after he had deceived and fought and smitten the light entities. By his Ohrmazdian wisdom and his spiritual wisdom he saw the beneficial

andar saxt asmān *zēndānīg [1] parwastan tā purr-dardīhā ud spurr-uzmūdīhā [2] bērōn abāz nē hištan pad ān ī brīn zamān ān ī druz zūr-mihōxtīhā pērōzīh framūd. ud im druz ud hamist dēwān ālūdagīhā ud ānāstīhā ud pašēmānīhā a-pērōzīhā *purr-mih-dardīhā (?) [3] bowandagīhā uzmūdīhā ud *wānīd [4]-zūrīhā ud hanjāft-abzārīhā ānāft [5]-nērōgīhā abesīhīd [6]-frēbīhā wišuft-iz-cārīhā ud stardīhā ud agārīhā bērōn abgandan andar wišuft-ahremanīh [7] wany-druzīh [8] abesīhīd-dēwīh ud nēst-petyāragīh. ān ī weh dām nōg abēzag abāz tāšīdan jāwēdānīg frāz dāštan andar abēzag ud nēk rawišnīh anōšag win(n)ārdan andar nē hilišnīh ī hambadīg az nōg-nōg padistīh ī-š pad drōzišn ud hamēšag handēmānīh ī-š ō dām ī yazdān jāwēdān tarsānīh ī rōšnīgīh az-iš būd hē meh sūdtar dāšt.[9] u-š abzār nē ān ī andar nē hilišnīh <ī> bē-š ān ī frazām-pērōzīh ārāst.

(36.14) u-š ān ī a-sar-rōšnīh ī a-kanārag frāz brēhēnīd ud ān ī hamēšag-sūd ganj ī xwadād kē wisp gōhrān tōhmagān cihrān ud zōrān [ī] kārān abzārān az bun-āfurišn ī wehān [10] dāmān [ud] andar dwārišnīh [ī] druxtār ēbgat tā abdom dādīg pērōzīh ī hu-framān dādār ud frazāmišn ī wispān kōxšišnān pad pānagīh ud pādāšn ī kard-espāsān ud šnāyišn ī ahlawān ud bēšazišnīh ī druwandān ud win(n)ārišnīh ī fraš(a)gird abāyišnīg. ēd cē abzāyišnīhā ud ēd cē *pusyānīhā [11] ēd cē zahag-nērōgīhā ēd cē zāyišnīhā ēd cē tōhmagīhā ēd cē dāyagīhā ēd cē cihrīgīhā ēd cē dānišnīhā ēd cē rāyēnišnīgīhā ud rāyēnāgīhā ud ēd cē jud-karīhā ēd cē jud-ōšmārīhā [12] ud ēd cē abārīg wasān *frahixtagān [13] ēwēnagān [ud] ristagān ī andar *āwām [14] *āwām [15] zamānag zamānag pad *kayīh [16] kūīh candīh ud ciyōnīh

1. Text: zywšnyk'; BK: zywšnykwyh
2. Text: 'wzmwth'
3. Text: pwl mtn' dltyh'; ed. emendation: pwl mtr dltyh'
4. Text: W HNA ME
5. Text: 'wn'pt'
6. Thus TD; text has: 'psyst'; J1, J2: 'psst'
7. Thus K35; TD, BK: 'hlmnny; others: 'hlmn'
8. Emended by ed.; DF: dlwbc'; others: dlwc'
9. Text: d'štn'
10. Emended by ed.; MSS: wyh dyn'n
11. Text: pwš'nyh'; J1, K35: ytyd'nyh'; J2, H: yt'd'nyh' DF: ytš'nyh''; BK: mwš'n'yh'
12. Thus DF; text: hnd'mglyh'
13. Text: pl'hytyk'n; TD: plšytyk'n'
14. Text: 'wb'n'
15. Text: 'wb'n'
16. Text: 'dmytyh

effect of his lawfully fighting the lawlessly striker *druz* within a limited time, within a well-defined space, within a confined battle, within a finite war, within a measured pain. And he ordered to enclose him within a prison of hard firmament, so that he may not be allowed to come out again before the full measure of pain and tribulation at the decreed time is completed, and (to achieve) victory over the *druz*, full of deceit; and to cast out this *druz* together with the demons in impurity, non-existence, regret, defeat, devastation, and pain (?), destruction, tribulation, powerlessness, their capacities exhausted, their forces gone, their deceits broken, their tricks smashed, in confusion and lack of effect, in a state in which Ahreman's nature is destroyed, the *druz*'s nature is annihilated, the demon's nature is smashed, and the antagonist's nature is vanished. And to fashion the good and pure creation anew, to keep it for ever, to arrange it immortally in pure and good existence, not to let the antagonist come in because his always new threats by deceit and his continual presence to the creature of the *yazdān* would cause constant fear to the light entity. He set the means (for this) not that (Ahreman) should not be let in, but that (Ohrmazd) should have final victory.

(36.14) And he (i.e. Ohrmazd) ordained the eternal and endless light, and the eternally beneficial +self-supported treasury which (contains) all the +substances, seeds, natures, powers and skills of the people from the beginning of the creation of the good creatures, during the attack of the deceitful enemy, right up to the final just victory of the well-directing (?) Creator and the completion of all struggles by the protection and reward of those who have done service and the satisfaction of the righteous and the healing of the wicked and (whatever) is necessary (for) the arrangement of the renovation, whether by growth, or by womb (conception), whether by embryo-powers, or by birth, whether by families or by nursing, whether by nature, or by wisdom, whether by (self-) directing, or by having a director, whether by causing separation, or by considering +separation (?), and many other kinds of manners and ways of training which there may be at every period and in every age according to what is required by the time, place,

<ī> *abāyēd [1] bowandag az-iš *rasišnīh [2] [ī] spurr ud a-kam andar wht ?

(36.15) u-š baxt [ān ī] nēk-kard asmān [3] pad 3 srišwadag ēk pad ulīh paywast ō ān ī a-sar-rōšnīh kē ān ī hamēšag-sūd ganj andar ud ēk pad frōdīh *hāxt [4] ō ān ī zofāy tom kē ōy purr-wattarīh druz andar ud ēk mayān ī ān ī 2 srišwadag ēr ud abar.

(36.16) u-š ān ī abardom srišwadag xwānīhēd garōdmān drubušt kard pad abēzagīh [ud] hamāg-rōšnīh ud wisp-rāmišn ud druz-awiš-nē-*ayābišnīh.[5]

(36.17) u-š payrāst ān ī srišwadag ō a-petyāragīhā xwānišn ī[6] abēzagān amahraspandān ud kard-espāsān ahlawān kē ciyōn āznāwar gurdag ī hambadīg [ī] a-wirāst bowandagīhā kōxšēnd [ud] andar ardīg ud wānēnd hambadīg. wizārd xwēš gōhrag [7] <ud> ēwarzēnd ō haspīn [8] pad ān ī amahraspandān abāgīh ud ān ī dādār xwarrah. ud did-iz andar ō abē-bīmīh ō dēwān zanišn ud ō wehān dāmān frayādišn xwāhēnd. ciyōn kē az drubušt cand a-bīm kē [9] tigr ud sneh [10] hu-ayābag ō ēr-padān [11](?) tigr wihēd [12] [ud] ō dōstān ayārēd.[13]

(36.18) u-š ō ān ī ērtom srišwadag asmān pad ān ī yazdīg warz ud xwarrah wizārēnīd juttarīh PWN ltyh [14] (?) kū tā druz ī a-wehīh rasēd ud ān ī srišwadag <ī> purr-tār purr dēw kunēd ud škeft <ud> andar ān saxtīh ka hazangrōzam bawēd zēndān ī pōzēnag ristag ī dēwān ud ān-iz [15] ī druwandān kē [16] dēw frēft ud az razm wirēxt pad wināh

1- Text, J1, J2, H, K35: ʾbʾgʾnʹ; TD: ʾbʾgdyn; DF, BK: ʾbʾšnʹ; ed emends to: ʾpʾdšn or ʾpšʾnʹ (?)
2- Text: lsʾnyh
3- Text: ʾsʾmʾn
4- Text: hʾpt
5- Text: hʾcšnyh
6- TD: KLYTWN-šnyh
7- TD: gwhlykʹ
8- Thus DF; text: ʾspʾnʹ
9- Ed. emends to: MN
10- Thus ed.ʾs emendation; text: ʾywʾh
11- Thus DF; text: ʾylpʾnk, TD: ʾylpkʾn
12- J1, J2, H, DF: dhytʹ YHYTWN-ytʹ
13- Emended by ed.; text: ʾybʾdʾtʹ; DF, BK: ʾylbʾštʹ
14- Thus text; J1, J2, H, DF: W PWN lyh; K35: OL PWN lyh
15- Text: ZK Y cʹ
16- BK: MN

quantity and quality, will emerge out of that completely in a perfect manner as it comes about without +fail (?)

(36.15) And he divided the +well-made sky into three thirds: one at the top which is connected to the endless light, in which is the eternally-beneficial treasure; and one at the bottom (which) leads to the deep darkness in which is the *druz* full of evil, and one which is between those two thirds (which are) below and above.

(36.16) And the highest third which is called the supreme heaven (*Garōdmān)* he made a fortress, (and it exists) in purity and (is) all brightness and (has) every comfort, and there is no access to it for the *druz.*

(36.17) He arranged that third for the unhindered summoning of the pure *amahraspands* and righteous servants (of the *yazdān*), who are wholly engaged in the battle as +noble heroes against the unprepared enemy (i. e Ahreman), and they defeat the enemy. Having redeemed their own kin, they +go to +rest in the company of the *amahraspands* and the glory of the Creator. And, besides, they fearlessly seek to destroy the demons and to assist the good creatures. As one who is fearless because of (being in) a castle well prepared with arrows and weapons and (who is able to) shoot (the enemies?) +who are fallen down and help the friends.

(36.18) And he (i.e. Ohrmazd) with his miraculous and divine glory separated the lowest third of the sky (from the other two thirds) as a separate +(?) (side), so that the +evil *druz* might come and make that part full of darkness and full of demons. And surprisingly, at that hard time when the end of the millennium occurs, (it will serve as) a prison and a way of +penitence for the demons and those wicked ones who are deceived by the demons and have fled from the battle and who +endure (the punishment) for

āstārīd [1] bawēnd pattūgīhēnd[2] andar bē nē hilišn ī druz az parwastār rōšnān tā zamān ī brīn ka spurrīhēd ān ī dēwān pādifrāh ud ān ī druwandān pašēmānīh.

(36.19) u-š ō ān ī mayānag srišwadag brēhēnīd ān ī gētīg dām pēš-radag ī az gētīg ud mēnōg. u-šān andar awēšān dāmān dād ān ī rāyēnāg mardōm sālār ī dāmān ān ī wizēngar xrad abzār ī mardōmān ud ān ī rāst-dēn ī pāšom- dānišnān.

(36.20) u-š sāxt ān ī srišwadag ō razm-gāh kōxšišn ī 2-ān jud-gōhrān.

(36.21) u-š pad abardomīh ī im srīšwadag ēstēnīd rōšn xwar ud bāmīg māh ud xwarrahōmandān starān.

(36.22) u-š payrāst kū mih ī petyārag wāzēnd ud gardēnd pērāmōn ī dām ud spīzišn [3] ī dūr būm [ud] rōšnīh ud wārān wasān nēk yazdān zanēnd ud wānēnd jādūgān parīgān kē azēr ī awēšān dwārēnd pad winābišn [ī] ō dāmān ud škeft kōxšēnd ud abāz ēstēnīdār bawēnd ān gast sēj.

(36.23) u-šān pad gardišn abrāz ud šēb ud waxšišn ud nirfsišn ī dāmān bawād [4] ud purr ud ōgār ī zrēhān ud waxšišn ī rōymānān[5] ud wālišn [ī] dāmān.

(36.24) u-šān az-iš [ud] pad-iš wizīhād brīn rōzān šabān māhān sālān āwāmān sadōzamān [6] hazangrōzamān.

(36.25) u-š brēhēnīd be ō pitān-paymōzīh ī xwad ast stī-paymōgīh cēr ud [7] tagīg [8] ahlawān frawahrān.

(36.26) u-š payrāst kū zamānag zamānag pad xwēš gōhrag ēstēnd ud rasēnd be ō gētīg-paymōgīh. ān ērān ramag cand bowandag [9] ō ān ī zamānag kār zāyēnd andar tōhmag. ān ī purr frazand ciyōn frawāk ān ī pēšdād ciyōn hōšang ān ī dēw-zadār ciyōn tahmurip ān ī purr-

1- Thus DF; Text: ᾿stlyt'
2- Text: ptwkyh'᾿t'; DF: ptwkš᾿yt'
3- Thus K35; text: scšn'; J1, J2, H, DF: wsp' ycšn' Y; BK: wsp scšn' Y; TD: scšn' Y with yc written above šn'
4- BK: YHWWN-yt'
5- Thus text which follows K35; BK, J1: lw᾿mycyn᾿n'; TD: lwymšn᾿n'; DF: lwymycyvw᾿n'; J2, H: lwymycyn᾿n
6- Emended by ed.; text: wsp' zm᾿n'
7- Text: Y
8- Emended by ed.; text: tyk'
9- ThusJ2, H, DF; text: bndk'

the sin which (they) have committed. However they do not let the *druz* out of the +enclosure of the luminaries until the appointed time when the punishment of demons and the penitence of the wicked are accomplished.

(36.19) And he (i.e. Ohrmazd) created the material creation as the middle third (to be) the front line of the material and spiritual worlds' (battle against evil), and among these creatures he created man (as) an organiser and a master over the others, (with) man's power of discerning wisely and the Good Religion of those who know best.

(36.20) And he made that third part as a battle-field for the struggle of the two different natures.

(36.21) And he +fixed the luminous sun and the resplendent moon and the glorious stars at the summit of this third.

(36.22) And he (i.e.Ohrmazd) arranged that they and the distant brilliances should move and revolve around the creation in +opposition to the enemy, (giving?) light to the earth and plenty of rain, (and that) according to the (need) of the vast earth, and the good *yazdān* would smite and destroy the sorcerers and witches who rush from below to destroy the creatures, and they (i.e. the *yazdān*) would struggle hard and +stop that horrible danger.

(36.23) And through their revolution, there shall occur the ascending and descending, increase and diminution of the creatures, the ebb and flow of the seas, the growth of plants and the growth of creatures,

(36.24) and by (and) through them (?) the divisions of the days, nights, months, years, periods, centuries and the millennia will be separated.

(36.25) He determined that the victorious and strong frawahrs of the righteous should wear flesh, which is the garment of the material beings.

(36.26) He (i.e. Ohrmazd) arranged that from time to time they should arise and come to the material world in their own nature, while clothed in the garment (i.e.flesh) of the material world (and that) of that host of heroes as many as needed (?) should be born for the work of that time, among (their) number (lit. family) one who would have many children like +Frawāk, one of +*pēšdād* like +Hōšang, one who smites demons like +Tahmuras, one who is full of glory like +Jam, one who is full of healing like +Frēdōn, one who would have +both (kinds of) wisdom like the righteous Manuchihr, one who is full of strength like Karsāsp, one who would be from a glorious

xwarrah ciyōn jam[1] ān ī purr-bēšaz ciyōn frēdōn ān ī har(w)-2-xrad ciyōn ahlaw manuščihr ān ī purr ōz ciyōn kersāsp ān ī xwarrah-tōhmag ciyōn kay kawād ān ī purr-xrad ciyōn ōšnar ān ī āzādag ciyōn syāwaxš ān ī abar-kār ciyōn kay xusrō ān ī burzāwand ciyōn kay wištasp ud ān ī purr-weh ciyōn ašō zardušt ān ī gēhān-wirāy ciyōn pēšyōtan[2] ān ī dēn-abarag ciyōn ādurpād ān ī mānsarīg ciyōn hušēdar ān ī dādīg ciyōn hušēdarmāh ud ān ī gāhānīg frazāmīg ciyōn sōšāns. andarag awēšān wasān warzāwandān xwarrah-kārān dēn-burdārān weh-rāyēnīdārān kē abar ō wānišn ī druz ud kāmišn ī dādār.

(36.27) u-š ō kōxšišnīgān dāmān dād wīdwarīh baxt ī andar[3] kōxšišn pad[4] wuzurg (?) ō ān pāšom nēkīh ī az wahišt pad fraš(a)gird.

(36.28) u-š wāspuhragānīhā hunsand kard menišn[5] ī āhōgēnīd zīndagān pad gōhrīg weh-iz[6] ī az anāgīh ēn ōh-iz hunsand pad marg[7] kū-šān sāmān dānēnd brīnōmand frazāmōmand bawād anāgīh ī gētīg pad zīndagīh [ī] brīnōmand ud ma a-sāmān a-brīn bawād anāgīh ī gētīg pad hamēīg zīndagīh ī abāg dard.

(36.29) u-š pad wuzurg rāz ī purr-abdīh dūrīg a-margīh ō zīndagān dād: zahag-paywandīh[8] ān ī weh ud abardom[9] a-margīh ī petyāragōmandīh. cē hamē zīndag ī petyāragōmand jāwēdān dard. ōy škeft zōr ī ayāft paywand hamē juwān pad paywand ud nāf ud āwādagān ī weh andar petyāragōmandīh ud hamēīgīh ī zīndagīh kū-šān pad xwēš frazand āwādag zīndagīh paywandīhēd[10] jāwēdān. owōn kū har(w) [kē] windēnd kahwanīh ī az wēmārīh zarmānīh abāz nōgīhēd juwānīhā pad xwēš frazand ud gōhrag hamē ka *puhr[11] bawēd. ēk-iz az razmīg ī-šān kōxšišn pad wānišn ī-š ham-nibard windēd pad *tarāzūg[12] arg (?) ī āsān ēn ōh-iz franāmišn ī ō wahišt.

1. Thus DF; text: cygwn'-c ym
2. Text: pš'wtn'; J1, J2, H, DF: pšywtn'
3. TD omits
4. J1, J2, H, DF omit
5. Text: mnšn'
6. DF: wšc', K35: wšyc'
7. TD: 'mlg
8. Emended by ed., Text has: škypt' wyš
9. Thus J1, J2, H, DF; K35 adds: AYT'
10. Emended by ed., Text has: ptwnyhyt'
11. Text: pwl
12. Text: tl'c; TD: t'l'c

race like +Kay Kawād, one who would be very wise like Ōšnar, one who would be a noble like Syāwaxš, one who would perform superior works like Kay Xusrō, one who would be +exalted like Kay Wištāsp, and one who would be very good like the righteous Zoroaster, one who would organize the world like Pašūtan, one of superior religion like Ādurpād, one who would be a +ritualist like Hūšēdar, one who would be a lawyer (+dādīg) like Hūšēdarmāh, and one who would be *+gāhānīg* (related to the *Gāthās*) and bring all things to conclusion like Sōšāns, amongst many (other) powerful ones, performers of glorious deeds, supporters of the faith, organizers of what is good, who (work) for the destruction of the *druz* and (uphold) the will of the Creator.

(36.27) He gave +consolation to the battling creatures, (namely good) fortune in the battle by means of the great .. +(?) to that most excellent blessing which (comes) from (the promise of) heaven at the renovation.

(36.28) He specially made happy the disturbed thoughts of living people by exchange of good for evil; that is, happy through death, because they know the term of their (life), (so that) the world's evil will have a limit and an end as a result of a limited life, lest the world's evil be unbounded and unlimited as a result of an eternal life accompanied by suffering.

(36.29) He (i.e. Ohrmazd) through a great mystery and miracle, gave a +long-lasting immortality to the living: family preservation through offspring, which is the best and most excellent form of immortality while suffering from the Adversary, for to a living being who suffers from the Adversary there is always pain. One who has children has the wondrous power, (that is) he is always young through (his) offspring and family and the good generation that are under the (rule of the) Adversary and through the perpetuation of life which they have thanks to the life of their children and the (following) generation is eternal. Just as every one who reaches old age through sickness and decrepitude renews himself to young age through his children and family any time when a son is (born to him). One of the combatants whose fight (ends) in victory over his opponent, finds at the scales (at the end of time) +light work, and thus will be led to Paradise.

(36.30) ciyōn ōy-iz abardom ī ašōgān mahist ī paygāmbarān farroxtom ī zāyišnān gētīgān rad ahlaw zardušt spitāmān ka-š az ohrmazd *dīd [1] abar mad xrad ī harwisp-āgāhīh u-š dīd ōy ī ahōš a-frazand ōy-iz ōšōmand frazandōmand ēg-iš ān ī hamē zīndagīh ī a-frazandīhā *burzišnīg [2] sahist sahmgēn ud ān ī rawāg-paywandīh ī ōšōmandīhā kū [pad] ān ī āsnūdag frazand rasišn ī hūšēdar ud hūšēdarmāh ud sōšāns ārzōgtar ud kāmagtar būd margīh az hamē zīndagīh ī ān ī xwēš-tan.

(36.31) ka ōy ī wisp-wehīh wisp-āgāh [3] ārāst būd abzārān ī padīrag ī druz ciyōn *spar [4] ō-*šān [5] mad ān druz ī frēbāg gōhrag ud gan(n)āg ud dwārāg ud anāg-kām ud pēš-kōxšīdār abāg akōman ud xešm ud zarmān ud būšāsp ud niyāz <ynak> [6] ud tangīh [ud] but [ī] *but [7] ud way ud waran ud astwihād ud wizarš dēw ud hamist māzandarān a-mar dēwān ud druzān. u-š tār [ud] tom [8] ud wak(?) [ud] *gazdum [9] ud spar (?) [ud] spuš [10] ud wiš ud zahr ud hamist dēw [11] [ud] wināhišn andar ān ī ēr sriśwadag.

(36.32) ul padīd duš-dānāg ō ān mayānag sriświdag kē-š andar weh dām ī ōhrmazd dād.

(36.33) u-š zad gāw u-š margōmand kard gayōmart u-š candēnīd zamīg ud škast bun.

(36.34) tārīk būd dahišn dwārist hēnd dēw ēr abar kustag u-šān *nixwārīd [12] aw-iz ān ī abardom sriświdag kū garōdmān ī abēzag mad hēnd ō abarīg *asmān [13] ī mayān sriświdag.

(36.35) ānōh haspīhist ēstēd mēnōg-waxšīg ān ī band-drubuštīh kē-š harwisp bandān nigāh. awiš ī xwad ast wuzurg xwarrah kē-š harwisp bandān nigāh dēn [ī] abēzag [ī] guman-wizār brāzīhist bāmīg ud

1- Text: wsp; TD: syp or sp (?); K35: sp
2- Text: blcšnyk'; DF: blcšn' Y ; K35: wlcšnyk'
3- Text: wysp'- 'k's
4- Text: spwl
5- Text: AP-š'n'
6- Text: nyd'cyn'k'
7- Text: bw't
8- Text: t'ltwm
9- Text: W kyzw'; BK, H: kkwzwn'; DF: kkzwn'
10- J1, J2, H: wstyh; K35: wspwš
11- Thus DF; text has: KHDE-wyh'
12- Text: swb'lyt'; J1, J2, H, DF: swb'lt'
13- Text: 's'm'n

(36.30) Just as the most perfect (example) of the righteous, the greatest of the prophets, the most fortunate of those who are born, the master of the worldly beings, the righteous Zardūšt the Spītāmān, when, as a result of +meeting (?) Ohrmazd, the omniscient wisdom came to him, and he saw one who was immortal and without any children, and also one who was mortal and (he had) children; then he considered the eternal life with no children to be terrible, and that the continuance of the family and mortality to be praiseworthy. Therefore, he (i.e. the Zardušt) became more eager and longed for the coming of his pure offspring Hūšēdar and Hūšēdar-māh and Sošāns, and for death rather than the eternal life of himself.

(36.31) When the all-good and all-knowing (one) arranged means like a shield, by which to oppose the *druz*, that *druz* of a deceiving and assaulting nature, corrupt and with evil-desires, always the first to attack came to them (i.e. to the creation of Ohrmazd) along with Akōman and Xešm and Zarmān and Būšāsp and Niyāz and Tangīh (i.e. the demon of scarcity) and the idol of Buddha and Way and Waran and Astwīhād and the demon Wizaraš and all the innumerous gigantic demons and *druzān*. (Likewise) darkness and gloom and frogs and scorpions and (?) and +lice and the poison and venom and all the destructive demons who are in the lower third part.

(36.32) The evil-knowing (Ahreman) ascended upward, to that middle third part, in which the good Ohrmazdian creatures were created.

(36.33) He (i.e.Ahreman) smote the (Uniquely Created) ox, he made Gayōmart mortal, he shook the earth, and the land was broken down.

(36.34) The creation became dark, and the demons rushed below and above, they even hastened to the uppermost third where the pure *Garōdmān* is found, and they came to the upper sky of the middle third part.

(36.35) There had been laid down in spiritual existence, the barricade in whose charge are all the locks. Over it, to whom belongs the great glory, and in whose charge are all the locks, (over it) there shines, the pure and doubt-solving religion, shining, bright and with far-reaching radiance, just

dūr-payrōg [1] ciyōn ēbyānghan [2] ī star-pēsīd ī mēnōgān-tāšīd weh-dēn ī māzdēsnān ēdōn-iz brāzīd rōšnān ī purr-xwarrahān.

(36.36) u-š nē būd *ādūgīh [3] ēc dēw ud druz nē-z ōy-iz dēwān dēw māzantom pad ēc [4] gurdīh tar [ī] ān ī wimand ul dwārīd ud abāz kaft hēnd.

(36.37) nūn ka nē ayāft az tamīg gōhr druz ud tār-tohmagān dēwān abēzag mēnōgān yazdān rōšn garōdmān gāh *ā-š [5] framūd pad [6] zūrag mihōxt pērōzīh ī [abar] xwarrah [ī] gētīg dām pad dō *zay [7] ēk abesīhēnīdan ī zīndagān pad margīh zōr [8] ēk dastgraw kardan ī ruwānān pad druwandīh rāh.

(36.38) u-š gardīd ō margēnīdārīh u-š pad-iš sālār kard ān ī duš-dānāg ī xwānīhēd astwihād [ī] wizārīhēd astōmandān wišōbāy.[9]

(36.39) u-š būšāsp dēw pad nizārēnīdan [ī] wēn [10] abespārd ud tab dēw pad stardēnīdan ud ōš *āšōbēnīdan [11] ud āz dēw pad zōr [12] ōgārdan ud *pēš-tazišn [13] ud *darrišn [14] [ud] *jōyišn.[15]

(36.40) u-š zarmān dēw pad kirb wināhīdan ud tōš [16] appurdan ud wattar way wisānišn [ī] gyān az tan stōwēnīdan. xešm dēw pad kōxšišn sārēnīdan ud ōzanišn abzāyēnīdan [17] ud tamīgān xrafstarān pad gazišn kardan wināhēnīdan. ud zariz [18] dēw pad xwarišnān zahrēnīdan [ud] margīh wihānēnīdan abāg niyāz ī nihān-rawišn ud sahm [19] [ī] bīm-kun xīndagīh [ī] tabišn-afsār ud was wināhišnīg zōrān wināhdārān dēwān hamē ayār kard ō astwihād pad margēnīdārīh.

1. TD: pylk'
2. Text: 'yypy'ngh'n'
3. Text: 'ytkyh ; J1, J2, H: 'stwkyh; BK, K35: 'ytwkyh
4. BK, K35: omit
5. Text: ZY-š
6. J1, J2, H: pwl
7. Text: zyk'; DF: zys
8. Text: zw'l
9. Thus DF; text has: wšwpgyh
10. Text, TD: ywn
11. Text: 'šwpynytn
12. Text: zw'l
13. Emended by ed., text has: tnšn' ; K35: pšn' ; TD: tny'n' Y ; others: tny'n' Y
14. Text: SDWN-šn
15. Text: ywytn'
16. Text and TD: tš; others: twš
17. Text: 'pz'yšnwytn'; TD: 'pz'y'nwytn'
18. Text: z'ylyc'
19. Emended by ed.; TD: d'm; others: GDE

like the star-studded and the spirit-fashioned girdle of Good Religion of the Mazdeans, which also shines (like) the fully splendid luminaries.

(36.36) And there was no power to any demon or druz, not even to that most gigantic demon of demons, by any bravery, to rush over the boundary (of the luminaries), and they fell back.

(36.37) Now, when the druz and dark seed demons could not reach, through their dark substance, the pure heavenly *yazdān*, and the place of the luminous supreme heaven (*Garōdmān)*, then, through the power of falsehood, he (i.e. Ahreman) commanded victory over the glory of the worldly creatures by two weapons, one, the destruction of the living by the power of death, and one, the captivity of souls by the way of wickedness.

(36.38) (So) turning to (the use of) death, he made a leader of that evil-knowing one, who is called Astwihād which means: 'The disintegrator of worldly beings'.

(36.39) And he committed the demon Būšāsp to weaken the breath, and the demon Tab (i.e. fever) to confound and disturb the intelligence, and the demon Āz to eradicate the power and to rush forth, tearing and devouring.

(36.40) And (he appointed) the demon Zarmān to destroy the body and steal the strength, the evil Way to separate the soul from the body (and) incapacitate (the person), the demon Xešm to provoke fights and to increase killing, and the gloomy noxious creatures to bite and to destroy, and the demon Zariz to poison foods thereby causing death, along with the secretive Niyāz and terrifying Fear and Sickness who chills the heat (of the body) and many (other) destructive powers and harmful demons all were made to assist Astwihād in causing death.

(36.41) u-š ō druwandēnīdan [ud] dušoxīg kardan ī-šān ruwān pad sālārīh drō [kard] kē pad ēwāz ī dēnīg xwānīhēd mihōxt. ciyōn guft pad dēn kū ast <ān>[1] and wattarīh cand harwisp dēw abāg dēwān dēw akōman kē abāg gan(n)āg mēnōg az ān ī mihōxt gōwišn.

(36.42) u-š pad ān ī drō-dēnīh <ud> dāmān *hāzēnīd[2] spazg frēftār[3] ud waran xwad-dōšag ud kēn ud arešk ud ān-iz ī cēr nang-rawišnīh ud ān ī abārōn nām-ārzōgīh ud ajgahānīh ī pad xrad-xwāhišnīh [ud] *nibard[4] ī pad ān ī nēst-frahang nimāyišnīh [ud] *stēz[5] ī pad ahlaw-iz-dēnīh abārīg was hāzānīg zōr hāzānēnāg dēw ham-ayār kard ō ān ī drō-dēn pad dāmān frēft[an].

(36.43) u-š *kirrēnīd[6] ō abārīg-iz ēwēnag-ēwēnag dāmān petyāragīh frāhīdān dēwān ud druzān.

(36.44) u-š ō ayārīh ī ān razmīgān ēstēnīd gōkān-iz[7] wasān parīgān ī tamīgān[8] gōhrān kē-šān[9] paymōxt[10] *brāh[11] ī rōšnīgān kū padēnd [ud] dwārēnd ud gardēnd azēr [ī] rōšnān ī wāzišnīgān. pad rāh-dārīh ī *hudāg[12] mēnōgān ud gētīgān [ud] nihumbišn [ī] ān ī awēšān rōšnīh ud xwarrah ud apparānēnd ān ī az awēšān xwarrah [pad] baxšišnīh ud damišnīh [ī] az xwēš ō dāmān *xīndagīh-iz[13] [ī] ast dard [ud] marg ud hamist anāgīh ī [pad] mān[14] [ī] awēšān[15] dēw.[16]

(36.45) awēšān ī dēwān kamālīg[17] ud māzanīgān dēwān ud hamist druzān a-dādistānīhā ud pēš-rawišnīhā *pēš-gundīhā[18] nē pad sūd ud frayād ī xwēš bē pad a-sazāg kēn ud an-ēwēn arešk wizārdan

[1]- ʾn
[2]- Text: hʾctynytnʹ; TD, DF: hʾctynytn
[3]- Text: plsptʾl
[4]- Text: W pwltʹ
[5]- Text: stwc
[6]- Text: dlynytʹ; DF: dlwytnʹ; J2: klwytn
[7]- DF: wnywkʾn-c; J1, J2, H, K35: nywkʾn-c
[8]- Text: twmykʾn
[9]- J1, J2, H: MN-šʾn
[10]- Text: ptmwhtnʹ
[11]- Text: lʾh
[12]- Text: hwdkʹ
[13]- TD: wʾynʹdkʾn-c; others: wʾynʹdk-c
[14]- Thus TD; others: nmʾn
[15]- Thus DF; text has OL-šʾn
[16]- Thus all MSS; TD has ŠDYA-ʾnʹ
[17]- Text: kmʾlʾk
[18]- Text: gndyhʾ

(36.41) And for causing their souls to become wicked and worthy of hell, he made chief (over them) the lie, which in the language of Avesta is called *mihōxt* (i.e. falsehood). As it is said in the Avesta: There are as much evil (things) as there are all the demons (who are) with the chief demon, Akōman, who accompanies the Evil Spirit, because of (his) speaking falsehood.

(36.42) In that false religion, he (i.e. Ahreman) joined together Spazg the deceiver, Waran the self-indulgent, Kēn (i.e. hate), Arešk (i.e. envy), also disgraceful violent behaviour, and the desire for notoriety, and indolence in seeking wisdom, and to put up a fight for what which is not civilised, and also striving against +righteous religion, and many other seductive powers and converting demons in order to +convert the creatures to the false religion and to deceive the creatures.

(36.43) He (i.e. Ahreman) also produced the evil of the +numerous druzān and demons towards the other kinds of creatures.

(36.44) And in order to assist those warriors, he (i.e. Ahreman) appointed, in detail, many dark substance witches and dressed them with the light of luminaries, so that they (could) move, rush and turn below the rotating luminaries. For robbing the +good spiritual and worldly beings, and conceal their lights and glory they should cause their splendour (i.e. the splendour of the creatures) to be taken away by distributing and blowing from their own (stores) over the creatures disease, which is pain and death, (as well as) all the evil which is in the dwelling of those demons.

(36.45) Those who (are) the head of the demons and the demon of Mazan and all *druzān* who unjustly and aggressively send their troops forward not for their own advantage and assistance but because they have an unworthy hatred and unusual envy; in order to accomplish (their) desire for

wizāy ud an-abāyišnīg kām ī abar rōšnān abesīhēnišn [rāy?] škeft *sēzdēn [1] kōxšišn kōxšēnd ō wehān dāmān ī yazdān.

(36.46) ān ī yazdān spāh dādestānōmandīhā pas-kōxšišnīhā nē pad pēš-kēnīh ud pēš-wizāyīh bē pad xwēš zyān abāz dārišnīh ud *gundagān [2] az *kēn-wizūdārīh[3] gurdīhā ud amāwandīhā frārōnīhā ud spurr-abarwēzīhā *pērōz[4]-abarwēzīhā kōxšēd ud kōxšēnd ō ahreman ud dēwān tā frazām kōxšišnān pērōzīh ī wehīgān ka wanīhēd druz ud abēzagīhēd dām.

(36.47) ciyōn gētīgān andar gētīg ān ī mēnōgān kār ud ristag šnāxtan az rāst nigerišn ī pad xrad ān *zay [5](?) šāyēd [6] ka pad hangōšīdag ī rāst zōr ī xrad ān ī wēnābdāg ud ān ī a-wēnābdāg az <ān ī> madan [ī] ān <ī> *pahrist [7] (?) nigerēnd[8] [ud] šnāsēnd ud paydāgēnd. owōn frazām-iz ī ham-kōxšišn dānišn-gugāyīhā ēwar paydāgīhā dīdārīg daxšag wēnābdāg ud *nišān[9] āškārag kē *az [10] xrad ī pēšēn *juxt [11] ōh-iz dānišn ī abar ēd abardom dar frāhīd nihuft druzān ī nihuftār az *ayābišn [12] ī gētīgān az-iz madan [13] [ī] ō gētīgān *ayābišn.[14]

(36.48) ud dānist [15] frazānagān dastwarān *pēšēnīgān [16] u-šān abespārd [17] ō pasēnīgānān ān bahrīhā ī paywast ō im zamānag. padisāy appardārān *an-ast [18]-abespārdārān frēftārān ī būd hēnd zamānag zamānag. andar-iz ān ī abyōxt ō-m dānišn [ud] *mēxīhā [19] mānd pad-im ayādīh pad framān [ud] dahišn [ī] axw ī gētīgīg [ud]

[1]- Text: szšn'; J1, J2, H: yzd'n'
[2]- Text: gndk'n
[3]- Text: gznt'lyh
[4]- Text: pylwcyh
[5]- Text: zyy'; J1, H: ZK W zkw; J2: ZK wzsw; DF: ZK Y W zs
[6]- DF: wš'yt
[7]- Thus: TD, J1, J2, H; DF: ptylst'; text: ptl'st'
[8]- Text: nkylynd
[9]- Text: gyh'n'
[10]- Text: OL
[11]- Text: ywxwxt
[12]- Text: h'cšn
[13]- K35: QDM
[14]- Text: h'cšn
[15]- Text: YDWYTWN-stn'
[16]- Text: p'šnyk'n; J1, J2, H: p'yndk'n; DF: p'hyk'n'; TD: p'y'ndk'n
[17]- Text: 'psp'ltn'
[18]- Text: 'n'hyt'
[19]- Text: msyh

annihilating the light entities by (inflicting) unworthy harm on them, they fight in a hard and violent struggle against the good creatures of the *yazdān*.

(36.46) The army of the yazdān struggle justly, in a defensive manner (lit. struggling afterward), not first in hatred nor first in harming, but in order to keep harm away from themselves and the troops (of enemy) from the harm of revenge they struggle with bravery and strength and honesty to be completely victorious with a triumphant victory; and they struggle against Ahreman and the demons until the fight is ended and the victory of good (creatures is achieved), when the *druz* is conquered and the creatures become +pure.

(36.47) Just as the worldly beings within the world can recognize the work and way of the spiritual beings (i.e. *mēnōgān*) by means of correct observation, and through the wisdom i.e. the +weapon (?), when they observe, recognize and reveal that which is visible and that which is invisible by the analogy of the correct power of wisdom, and by grasping (lit. coming to ?) that which is +comprehended (pahrist ?), likewise also the future of the struggle (against Ahreman) will be certain and clearly visible by the witness of knowledge. (Such a way) by witnesses, and evident signs and through manifest symbols, is joined (them) from the wisdom of the ancient (sages). +Thus, too, knowledge of this supreme matter, numerous concealed *druzān*, who (are) concealed from the grasp of worldly creatures, are grasped by worldly creatures through the fact that they come over to the *gētīg* beings.

(36.48) And (there were) wise, learned and early authorities and they transmitted to posterity (*Dastwars*) those portions (of the religion) which have reached to this time; subsequently from time to time there have also been forgers (lit. robbers), corrupted transmitters and deceivers. In that which stuck in my knowledge and remained in my memory as if (attached) with stake, through the will and reflection (?) of the worldly existence, and through the decree which derives from the scriptures, that which is in my

wizīrīg [ī] az-iz dēn *ān [1] ī-m *ayād-iš [2] ast ī nē frazām ō nibēsišn *purnāy [3] frārōn kār ī a-wizīrišnīg.

(36.49) pas rōšn paydāg zōrīh ī ān druz andar amā xīr ud ān ī dādār payrāst-rāhīh ī ō wanybūdagīh ud agārīh. ēdōn-iz purr-nērōgīh ī spāh ī yazdān ēwarīgīhā frazām pērōzīh ī wehīgān dādār ud wisp-tuwānīhā *spurrēnīdan ī-š bar ī xwēš wisp dahišn pad hamēīg bowandag nēk-rawišnīh ī-š āfrīdagān.[4] pad-iš dīdārīg [5] paydāg was daxšag ud nišān az-iš paydāgīhā rōšn.

(36.50) ēk ēn kū dādār xwēš māništīg bagdādag ud druz abar rasišnīg [6] andar dwārīdag u-š abar rasišnīh [7] ō ānābišnīh [ī] dahišn.[8]

(36.51) ēk ēn kū dām ī ohrmazd mēnōg ud gētīg-iz ōy [ī] druz nēst gētīg bē wad [ī] *mēnōg [9] [ī] abyōzīd ō gētīg ciyōn andar *hāwand [10] [ī] *cahār-iz [11] andar ēk owōn abarwēzīh paydāg ī mēnōgān ud gētīgān ī weh abar mēnōgān ī wad.

(36.52) ēk ēn kū-š az kōxšīdārīh ud pēš-zadārīh paydāg zadīh ī pad frazām cē druz a-dād-kōxšišn [12] [ud] pēš-zadār [13] ān ī ohrmazd spāh pas-dahīhā [14] dādīg abāz-zadār-dahīg.[15]

(36.53) ud ān ī *kū [16] zōr [ī] druz andar dast ī dādār be agar-iz hāwand spāh ud hāwand nērōg hēnd [17] agar-iz har(w) jār-ē dāmān zanēd ēk jār hāwandīhā dādīg abāz zanīhēd. ēwarīgīhā az-iš paydāgīhēd kū ka-šān zadārīh zadagīh āgenēn hāwandīh fradom ōy ī pēš-dast [18] zadār ud pas-kōxš zadag bawēd abdom ōy ī pas-kōxš zadār ud ān ī pēš-kōxš zadag bawēd cē ka pēš-pahikār zanēd zanīhēd pas-pahikār [pas] abāz [zanēd] u-š dušmen zadag bawēd.

1- Text: Y
2- Text: ʾyʾtyh
3- Text: plnʾy
4- Thus text: ʾplytkʾn; J1, J2, H, DF: ʾpyltkʾnʹ
5- Text: dytʾlkʹ
6- Thus DF; text: lsʾnyk
7- Thus DF; text: lsʾnyh
8- Thus K35; Text has: dhškʹ
9- Text: mynwkyh
10- Text: hʾwndyh
11- Text, TD: cʾl ʾc; K35: cyl ʾc; J2, DF: -c dlʾc; J1, H: cylʾt
12- Thus J1, J2, H, DF; text: kwhššnyh
13- Thus all MSS; text, TD, DF: ztʾlyh
14- Thus: J1, J2, H; text: dhʾ
15- Text: ztʾlyhykʹ; TD, K35: ztʾl šykʹ; DF: ztʾl šykwn; J1, J2, H: ztʾl dhykwn
16- Text: AMT; K35: omits
17- Thus: text; J1, J2, H, K35, DF: HWE-ydy
18- DF, J2: ʾstʹ; J1, H: ʾdytʹ

memory, to that there is no end. For writing (it), a mature and righteous (person) is absolutely necessary.

(36.49) Therefore, the power of the druz over our affairs, and the way provided by the Creator for the destruction and impotence of (the *drūz*) is manifest and clear. Thus, also the complete power of the army of the *yazdān*, and the certainty of the final victory of the Creator of the good, and all the complete powers whose fruit was the creation, with constant and perfect, and good progression of those created by him. Many tokens and signs are visibly manifest concerning that, out of which (the matter) is manifestly clear.

(36.50) One is this, that the Creator is in his destined place and the druz is attacking and has rushed in, +and his attack is in order to frustrate the creation.

(36.51) One is this, that the creation of Ohrmazd is spiritual and also material, while that of the *druz* is not material, (he can only) join spiritual evil to the world. As in the analogy of four (?) against one, so also the supremacy of the good spirits and worldly beings over the Evil Spirits is assured.

(36.52) One is this, that the final destruction of (the druz) is inevitable because of his contention and aggression, for the *druz* is a lawlessly striker and aggressor (while) the army of Ohrmazd, through +violence that comes late, is lawfully violent through smiting back.

(36.53) The power of druz is in the +hand of the Creator, but even if they have equal armies and equal power, and even if (the *druz*) attacks the creatures every time, eventually he will be equally and lawfully defeated. It is clear therefore with certainty that when there was equality between their attacking power (lit. smiting and being smitten), the one who begins the fight is smiter at first, whilst the one who is late in fighting is beaten. Finally, however, it is the latter who will win and the initiator of the fight who will be beaten, for when the initiator of the fight attacks, the one who fights late is beaten, he will (eventually) smites back, and his enemy gets smitten.

(36.54) ēk ēn kū ka kōxšīdārān zēn-abzār ud kōxšišn tuwānīgīh hāwand hamē ōy ī pēš-zadār[1] pēš wanīhēd zēn-abzār abdom ōy ī a-zēn[2] u-š hamēmāl zēnōmand mānēd ud pērōz bawēd zēnōmand abar *ān[3] a-zēn ciyōn abarwēz *kōxšišnīg[4] abar *a-kōxšišnīg.[5]

(36.55) u-š hangōšīdag ī az gētīg owōn ciyōn ka dō *artēštār[6] ī ham-zōr pad ham-kōxšišnīh har(w) ēk tigr dārēnd ud har(w) ēk az tigrōmandīh ī ōy ī did tarsēnd. ud az awēšān ēk tanīhā tigr wihēd hamēmāl wisinnēd.[7] pas ōy <ī> a-tigr u-š hamēmāl bowandag-menišn ud tigrōmand ud a-tars bawēd. andar tigrōmandīh ud a-tarsīhā ī xwēš a-tigrīh purr-tarsīhā [ī] ōy ī pēš-wistār abar tagīg kār *pērōzīhēd.[8]

(36.56) ka hāwand nērōgān pēš-kōxšīdār pērōz-frazāmīh [ud] a-baydāg ōy ī pas-wišuftag.[9] pad xwadīh andar ōy ī wisp-tuwān ēraxt-frazāmīh ud wanybūdagīh a-gumān rōšn paydāg.

(36.57) ēk ēn kū pēš-wanīh ī druz rāy wēmārīh ud margīh be ō dām ī yazdān pēš mad. ud ka druz dwārist u-š wēmārēnīd axwān ī mardōmān u-š murnjēnīd ud margēnīd zahag ī gōspandān.

(36.58) pas pad dādīg abāz zanišnīh rāy bārīgīhā be ō dēwān wēmārīh ud margīh be ō dām ī yazdān ašōgān bēšazišnīh zīndagīh ī bowandag.

(36.59) ciyōn-iš hangōšīdag ast wuzurg bēšazišnīh be ō dām ī yazdān *paywandēd[10] pad ham-*gōhrīg[11] rāst-tarāzūgīhā rasēd <ī> pad frazām be ō druzān wēmārīh ī garān ud margīh ī spurr ud ō dām ī yazdān bēšazišnīh ud zīndagīh ī *bowandag.[12]

(36.60) ciyōn-iš gētīgīgān hangōšīdag ān ī ka dō ham-pahikār ēk pēš-kēnīhā ō ham-pahikār zahr ī ōzēnāg dahēd ud xwad rūrag ī bēšaz

1- Emended by ed.; Text has: pyšyt'l
2- J1, H: ʾzynnʾwmnd'
3- Text: OL
4- Text: kwhššn'; TD: kwhššk'
5- Text: ʾkwhššn'; TD: ʾkwhššk'
6- Text: ʾlt'; TD: ʾltwn
7- K35, TD: lsynyt'
8- J1, J2, H, text: pylwyh'yt'; TD, DF: pyl šʾyt'; DF inserts pylwc in the margin; K35: pylwsyhyt'
9- Thus: TD; text: wšwpt'
10- Text, K35: pw dyt'; TD: pwrsyt'; J1, J2, H: pwst'
11- Text: wn'lk'
12- Text: BNPŠE; cf. para. 58

(36.54) One is this, that when the armour and the ability of the contenders are equal, the armour of him who initiates the fight is usually destroyed first, and finally he is unarmed and his enemy remains armed; and an armed (man) is victorious over him who is unarmed, just as the fighter is victorious over one who does not fight.

(36.55) And its worldly likeness is such as when two +challengers of equal strength each possessing an arrow, struggle with each other, and each one is in fear of the other's possession of the arrow; and one of them shoots his arrow and +splits (?) his opponent. Then he has no arrow and his opponent is +disciplined, possessing an arrow and is fearless. As he has an arrow and is without fear, the fact that the one who start shooting is without an arrow and is fearful makes him victorious in the matter of bravery (?).

(36.56) When they (i.e. Ohrmazd and Ahreman) have a same power, the initiator has final victory and the one who is subsequently destroyed becomes annihilated. By its own essence, (however,) there is no doubt and it is clearly visible that the one who is all-powerful (i.e. Ohrmazd) will inflict final condemnation and destruction (on his rival).

(36.57) One is this, because of his being the first to bring destruction, the *druz* caused sickness and death to occur amongst the creatures of the *yazdān*; and when he rushed in, he made the existence of men sickly and destroyed and put to death the offspring of animals.

(36.58) Afterwards, on account of lawfully smiting him (i.e. druz) back, (he gave) subtly the sickness and death to the demons and healing and perfect life to the righteous creatures of *yazdān*.

(36.59) Just as the likeness of great healing which is attached to the creatures of *yazdān*; (so) in the same nature, through the right balance, finally a grave sickness and total death reaches to the *druzān*, and the healing and perfect life to the creature of *yazdān*.

(36.60) As its likeness among worldly beings is when one of two fighters prematurely revengeful, gives a fatal poison to (his) rival and he himself eats

xwarēd. ud pas [1]-pahikār pas-cāragīhā ō pēš-pahikār zahr dahēd xwad rūrag ī zahr-ānāb xwarēd. pas az [2] zahr bēšazīhēd u-š dušmen pad zahr ī pas az rūrag margīhēd.

(36.61) ēk ēn kū ohrmazd ī dādār rāyenīdār pad xrad ī harwisp-āgāhīh ud druz ī tar-nigerišn kōxšīdārīh pad waran ī a-rāh.[3]

(36.62) *ham-zōrīh [4] ast ān ī dādār rāyēnīdārīh ciyōn ham-*zay [5] <ud> hamāg nigerišn ī pad xrad. ī pad hamāg ān ham-zōrīh *waxšēd [6] <ud> nērōg ī rāyēnīdārīh.

(36.63) was-zūr ast ān druz kōxšīdārīh ciyōn was-wardišnīh kāmag kē [7] xwad cašm ō *dām [8] *hamēstār.[9] ud pad ān ī an-āgnēn [10]-zōrīh ud wiškīd-nērōgīh kōxšišnīg zōr ī-š *ānāft-zōrīh [11] tāšēd.

(36.64) ēk ēn kū duš-āgāhīhā kōxšīdārīh ī druz rāy kadām ōzīhā [12] kōxšišn ō xwēš *druz [13] zyānīh passāxtag pašēmānīh ud wad-frazāmīh az-iš dīdārīg.

(36.65) ciyōn sahmgēntar petyārag ī-š ō gētīg dām handāxt [14] pad margēnīdan ī zīndagān kē-š framūd pad zūr <ud> ēmēd kū mahist pērōzīh ast. ān-iz ān ī ō ham druz owōn xwad zyānīhā kū ka ān <ī> druwand margēnēd ān <ī> druwand ī-š kāmišngar [15] ān kāmišngarīh warzišn ī wināh agārīhēd. ō ānōh šawēd kū az ān frēftagīh pašēmānīhēd ān dēw [16] ī wināh mēnōg kē ruwān ī ān druwand.

(36.66) ud ahlaw kē-š ān ī gētīgīg tan andar grawīh ud dard-widārīh ast az ān dard ud dast-*grawīh [17] dūr bawēd ud ō wahišt ī dizān drubušttom [18] šawēd abē-bīmīhā awiš kōxšēd.

1- Emended by ed.; text: pyš
2- Emended by ed.; text: MNW
3- Emended by ed.; Td, K35: ʾlʾyh
4- Text: hmzwl
5- Text: hm zyy; DF: hm zys
6- Text: whšt'
7- TD: MN; DF: AMT
8- Text: kʾm
9- Text: hmʾstʾl
10- J1, J2, H: ʾnʾkyh'; text: ʾnʾkyn'
11- Text: wynʾpt'; J1, H: wynʾt'
12- Thus: TD, K35; text: ktʾmkʾwcyhʾ; J1, J2, H: ktʾmk' ʾwcyhʾ
13- Text: dlwcyh
14- K35: dʾmʾn nyhʾd'
15- TD: kʾmšnyktl
16- DF: ʾsyh; K35: šh
17- Emended by ed.; Texst: ʾglwbwyh
18- Thus TD, K35; the ed. has emended to: dzy hwdlpwšt'twm

a healing herb. The second fighter, seeking a remedy, gives poison to the first fighter, and himself eats the antidote. Then he is cured from the poison, and his enemy is killed by the poison (taken) after the herb.

(36.61) One is this, that Ohrmazd, the Creator, is a governor, with omniscient wisdom, and the struggle of the +perverse *druz*, is a result of his +straying into lust.

(36.62) +Association is the governing power of the Creator which is the same as a +weapon, all (his) deliberations (are) by means of wisdom. Through all that association (his) power of governing increases.

(36.63) The struggle of the druz is to be of multiple powers as (his) desire to turn in multiple (directions), for he himself has his eyes as a rival on the creatures; and through his disunited power and split forces he fashions his power of fighting, which is his weakened power.

(36.64) One is this, that because of the ignorant struggle of the druz, with whatever power they fight, there is harm to the *druz* himself, and regret and bad consequence are accordingly manifest from that.

(36.65) As the very terrible evil that he inflicted to the creatures of the world was through putting the living to death, about which he announced with deceitful hope that it would be his greatest victory. (However) it was so self-damaging even to the same *druz*, that while he kills the followers of the demons those followers of the demons are performers of his will. Hence, that (very) performance of his will, the commission of sin, is (thus) made extinct. The spirit, which is the soul of the wicked goes there (i.e. to the judgment) where he will regret having been deceived (by) the demon of sin.

(36.66) +The righteous, whose worldly bodies are in captivity and who experience the pain, will be freed from the pain and +captivity, and they will go to +heaven which is the most fortress-like of fortresses, where they will fight fearlessly against him (i.e. the *druz*).

(36.67) ciyōn frawahr ī jamšēd sēj ud sahm abāz dāšt frawahr ī frēdōn pad bēš [ī] *az-kardārān[1] abāz dāšt abārīg frawahrān ī widardān pad was druz-zadārīh andar ōšmurīhēd.

(36.68) ēk ēn kū ān ī garāntom kirrenišn[2] ī-š abar margōmandīh kardan ī dāmān kē nizdēn (?) dēw astwihād pad-iš kamālāg was māzanīgān *abzāyēnīd[3] abzōnīg dādār owōn *xwārēnīd[4] ka-š ēk tan ī xwānīhēd gayōmart murnjēnīd. abāz mad ō gētīg mard-ē zan-ē ī-šān nām malhiy ud malhiyānē būd <hēnd> brād ud xwah[5] [pad] xwēdōdahīhā tōmagān[6] rāyēnīd ud paywast.

(36.69) nē *ayāft[7] druz bē ō awēšān ud ān ī awēšān frazand [ud] āwādag pad margīh <cārag>. tā ka[8] abzūd abar marg [ī] zīndagān az ān awēšān frazand ud paywand owōn kū abāg a-paymān murnjēnīdārīh ī purr-marg gan(n)āg mēnōg ānāst kōxšīdārīh ī-š pad marg ud margēnīdārīh. pas-iz zāyišn az margīh and[9] pēš andar uzīd zamānag ud and[10] wēš kū az ān ī dō tanān hazārān hazār [ud] bēwarān bēwar.[11] widard ōšmār az mar sāmānēnīd zīndagān mardōmān andar gētīg. ēdōn weh[12] dīdārīg cand druz pad margīh ō abesīhēnīdan kōxšāg zōr ī dādār abzōnīgīh rōšn paydāg.

(36.70) ēk ēn kū ān ī ōstīgāntom gōhr ī dēw [ī] xwad ast tārīkīh ī-š wattarīh owōn bowandag ī dēwān-iz ī az tom tōmagān[13] xwānānd.

(36.71) owōn zōr andar zēn-abzār ī yazdān kū ān-iz ī fradom tom tār ī andar gēhān pad hambun-iz zōr-ē ī xwaršēd *spīzišn hamāgīhā ānābīhēd gēhān rōšnīhēd.

(36.72) ēk ēn kū anāgtom zēn [ī] dēwān dādīh ī xwad-drō-axwīh kē-š ruwān pad-iš druwandēnīd rāy ō xwēš. mahist pērōzīhā [ud] ō yazdān bowandag zyānīhā sahist.

1. Text: byšz krt'l'n
2. Text: dlynšn'; TD: dlywš'n'
3. Text: 'p̄z'dšnyt'l
4. Text: hw'lynd
5. Emended by ed.; Text, J1, J2, H, DF: AP-š nh't' MNW; K35: AP-š' AHTE
6. Text: twmy'n
7. Text: h'cK35: h'cst'
8. K35, DF omit
9. K35, BK, DF: w'ng
10. K35, DF: w'ng
11. Thus BK; others: b'l
12. Text: 'ytwnyh
13. Text: twmy'n

(36.67) As (happened with) the frawahr of Jamšēd who kept away the trouble and terror, and the *frawahr* of Frēdōn (who) kept away the painful +activities of Az, and the other *frawahr* of those who have passed away are called the slayers of many *druz*.

(36.68) One is this, that in order to put the creatures to death, he (made) the most awful creation in which the +gloomy (?) demon Astwihād, the chief in his (realm), multiplied many (demons) of Mazan, and humiliated the bountiful Creator so much when he killed a person called Gayōmart. There came back (then) to the material world a man and a woman whose names were Malhī and Malhyāna, and the brother and sister brought forth offspring through *xwēdōdah*, and (thus) perpetuated (their seed).

(36.69) The druz did not find a way to reach them (i.e. the livings) and their offspring and future generations through causing them to die, so he increased the death of people with their children and relatives, in such a way that along with the immense destruction of the Evil Spirit, who is full of death, there was the effort for destruction through death and putting to death. Then (by contrast), as the time passed, the number of births increased even more than the deaths, thousands of thousands and myriads of myriads (were born) from those two persons (i.e. Malhī and Malhyāna). The number of living people in the world increased from a limited number; therefore, in spite of the struggles of the *druz* to ruin (the creatures of Ohrmazd) the superior power of the Creator is clear and manifest.

(36.70) One is this, that the most strong substance of the demon, which is itself darkness, (is) his evil; so all the demons are called those of the dark families.

(36.71) And such a power is in the armour of the yazdān, that even that which was the primitive dark race in the world is destroyed for ever by the smallest power (i.e. ray) of the sunrise, and the world is made bright.

(36.72) One is this, that the most evil weapon of the demons is the rule of having a mind deceitful to oneself which, because it makes the soul wicked it seemed to them to be their greatest victory and a complete loss for the *yazdān*.

(36.73) andar wuzurg xwarrah ī abēzag rāst dēn ī yazdān owōn zōr ciyōn *ōy [1] purr-zūrīhā nē-dādīh ud was hamēmālīh ī druz.[2] [pad] passazag ō purr *az [3] *a-rāst-gōwišnīh [4] kē xwad ān rāst-gōwišnīh [ī] frārōn ud har(w) rāstīh abar gugāy u-š ēc rāstīh nē tarwēnēd. ud ān ī drō-gōwišn was [ō] hu-gōwišn pad hu-gōwišnīh hamēmāl [5] u-š az [6] rāstīh nē bōzēd.

(36.74) ciyōn-iš hangōšīdag ast ān ī ka ān ī spēd gōn rāy har(w) rāstān spēd gōnīh nē drōzanān ast kē-š syā-gōnīh ud ast kē xašēn-gōnīh [ud] ast kē kabōd-gōnīh [ud] ast kē *sabz [7]-gōnīh ast kē suxr [8]-gōnīh ast kē zard- gōnīh gōwēnd.

(36.75) ud har(w) ēk-gōwišn ī har(w) rāstān ān ī drōzanān pad *and-and-gōnīh [9] ēdōn gugāy ciyōn hambasān-gōwišnīh-iz ī abrehām.

(36.76) ī tarsāgīgān kē saxwan ī-šān mešīhā-iz [10] xwānīhēd pad pus ī yazd ēdōn hangārēnd kū pus ī nē keh az pid xwad ōy ast yazd ī a-mīrāg dārēnd.

(36.77) grōh-ē im mešīhā [11] rāy gōwēnd kū murd grōh-ē gowēnd kū nē murd.

(36.78) ān grōh-ē ō [gōwēd] ān kē nē murd gōwēnd [ud ān grōh-ē] ō ān kē murd gōwēnd ō kē murd ud ka nē murd ō kē nē murd guft ka pad murd guft. hambasān xwad-iz ō xwēš gōwišn hamēstār.

(36.79) cē ka murd guft be ō nē murd guft ka nē murd be ō murd guft hambedār ud škastār. frārōn gāh ī *yazdān [12] pad rāstīh zōr ham-nērōg pad-iš spurr pattāyēd [ud] nērōgīhēd abēzag weh-dēn ī māzdesnān. xwad ō xwad wišōbīhēd [ud] *agārēnī[hē]d *xāmōšīhēd [13] druz. ciyōn wēnīhēd *abarwēzīh [14] [ī] ōstīgānīh abar wardišnīgīh

1- Text: OL
2- Thus: DF; text: dlwcšn
3- Text: ME
4- Text: ʾlšt' gwbšnyh; BK, K35: ʾlšyt' gwbšnyh; J1, J2, H: wlyhyt' gwbšnyh; DF: wlšyt' wgwbšnwy
5- Thus TD; others: ʾystʾl
6- Text: ʾp'
7- Text: spšdgwnyh; J1, J2, H, DF: spyhdynyh; TD: wspyhdgwwnyh; BK: spndhdgwwnyh; K35: spwšdynwyh
8- Text: šwʾl
9- Text: ʾnʾwywnyh
10- Text: ʾz' klp'; J1, H: zglp'; J2DF: ʾzglp'
11- Thus TD, DF: msyhʾ ; text: mšyhʾ
12- Text: ŠDYA-ʾn
13- Text: hm wʾš; J1, H: AMT; J1, J2, H, DF: wʾxšyhyt'
14- Text: ʾplwyc

(36.73) There is as much power in the great glory of the pure and right religion of the *yazdān* as in the *druz* (who is) full of deceit, lawlessness and the great hostility. and the completely untrue speech is balanced by that which is itself the true speaking of the righteous and which is evidence of every truth and therefore does not defeat any truth. That false speech is a great enemy of good speech on account of proper speech and it does not save it from truth.

(36.74) It is like, for example, when something is white-coloured, all the truthful call it white colour, not like the liars (who) may call it black colour, or dark blue colour or grey-blue colour, or green colour, or red colour, or yellow colour.

(36.75) And the alike speech of the truthful (people) shows up the inaccurately of these liars about several colours, which is as contradictory as the statements of +Abraham.

(36.76) The Christians consider him who (according to) their statements is also called Mesīhā, as the son of a god, so the son who is not less then the father, is himself, the god who is considered immortal.

(36.77) One group says that Mesīhā is dead and one group says that he is not dead.

(36.78) One group says to those who hold the view that he did not die, and one group says to those who claim that he did: 'For what did he die?', and if he did not die: 'Why is it claimed that he did not die when it is said that he did?' There is a contradiction, they are in opposition to their own words.

(36.79) For if one said that (Christ) died, (the opponent and rival) said that he did not die; and when one said that he did not die, the opponent and rival said that he did. The righteous throne of the *yazdān* (operates) with harmonious power through the power of truth. And through it (i.e. the truth) the pure good Mazdean religion endures and strengthens perfectly. The *druz* is destroyed, powerless and becomes mute all by itself, as there will be seen

pērōzīh ī ham-nērōgān abar wiškīd-zōrān frazām- wišōbišnīh [abar] xwadīh wišōbišn.

(36.80) ēk ēn kū ān-iz ī škeft wišōbišn ī paydāg kū pad wārān [ī] malkōsān rasēd ka pad wafr [ud] sarmāg ī a-paymān [ud] *a-padēxīh [1] [ī] gēhān frahist ōšōmandān mīrēnd rasišnīgān-iz ī ōšōmand abāg garānīh ud grāyīh.

(36.81) pas andar wisp dānāgīhā pēš-cārīh ī spenāg mēnōg owōn nihād cār kū sardag ī būmān ēk ī xwānīhēd jam-kard war ī-š pad framān kard jam ī šēd hu-ramag ī wiwanghan. abāz purrīhēd [2] gēhān az pāšom tōmagān mardōmān ud nēk tōmagān gōspandān bālistān urwarān xwālistān xwarišnān.

(36.82) ān owōn abdīhā abāz ārāstārīh ī gēhān abāz āmadan [3] ī nōg mardōm ō dād ud hu-pēšag [4] bawēd ul āxēzišn ī ristān.

(36.83) az-iz ān abdīh paydāgīhēd nē madan ī gan(n)āg mēnōg ō spurrīh [5] ī ān ī dādār xwarrah ō har(w) cār.

(36.84) ēk ēn kū ka ān ī duš-dēn ī dahāk kē-š was-ōztom dēw druz pad az-kirb [6] abar frēg ast az band ī frēdōn rahēd ud pad *jādūgīh [7] [ī] dēw be ō gēhān murnjēnīdār ēstēd ēk mard ī tagīg az rist pēš ul ēstīhēd xwānīhēd sāmān kersāsp ī pad ēk gad ī *gāwsar [8] ān druzīh šken(n)ēd pad ān ī frārōn wēm [9] ān dahāk ō dād ud ristag ī yazdān ānayēd.

(36.85) ēk ēn kū ēn ī az zādān mardōmān kē āmurzīd ēstēd astwihād nē *hāxt [10] nē-z hāzēd ō marg. pad ān ī ahōšagīh zōr ud ān ī a-wisānišnīh kār *frašawēnd [11] ō yazdān *az [12] *nigānōmandīh [13] aw-iz a-margīh ī abārīgān dāmān pad fraš(a)gird.

1- Text: ʾp̄tšwyh
2- J1, J2, H, DF: pwšytʹ
3- Text: YATWN-tn; TD: dʾtʹ tnʹ
4- Text: dʾtᵒnʹ
5- Thus BK; others: wspwlyh
6- Text: ʾzʹ klpʹ; J1, H: zglpʹ; J2, DF: ʾzglpʹ
7- Text, TD: yʾtkyh; DF: yʾtwyh; others: yʾtwkwyh
8- Text: gʾwsʾl
9- Thus BK, K35; Text has: bym
10- Text: hʾctʹ; TD: htxtt; J1, H: ʾyʾpytʹ
11- Text, TD: plyšwynd; K35: plsywynd; others: plgynynd
12- Text: MNW
13- J1, J2, H: MN nkʾnᵒwmnd

the mastery of solidity over transience and the victory of the united powers over the broken powers, and +final destruction over self-decay.

(36.80) One is this, which is also a grievous destruction, it is revealed that it occurs through the rain of +Malkūs, when through snow, and enormous cold and dearth in the world, most mortals die, and also those mortals who are born (lit. arrived) (face) scarcity and difficulties.

(36.81) Then the Good Spirit (i.e. Ohrmazd) from amongst all the possible wise solutions (decided) to establish the following solution: +one of the types of land called the enclosure made by Jam. (This was) made through his command by Jamšēd of good flocks, the son of Wiwangha. So the world was again full of the excellent races of men, and the good breeds of animal, and the highest trees and the sweetest foods.

(36.82) +There will be so much miracle: the restoration of the world, and the coming of the new men to (their) status (?) and good calling, through the resurrection of the dead.

(36.83) And also it is evident from that miracle that the Evil Spirit (even) with all his means does not attain the +perfection of the glory of the Creator.

(36.84) One is this. When Dahāk of evil religion, who has on his shoulder the mightiest demon of *druz* in the form of a serpent, escapes from the fetters of Frēdōn, and becomes the destroyer to the world through the sorcery of the demon, (then) a brave man whose name is Sāmān Kersasp will be +raised from the dead, and he will break the *druzīh* existence with an ox-headed mace on the mountain of righteousness, and will lead Dahāk to justice and way of the *yazdān*.

(36.85) One is this. Those of the people borne (into the world) who have been given mercy, Astwihād has not led them to death and will not do so. By the power of immortality and by the action of inseparability they will proceed (?) to the *yazdān*, and from being prone to be buried (i.e. from mortality) (they will) indeed (proceed) to the deathlessness of the other creatures during the renovation.

(36.86) ēk ēn kū [andar] gumēzag razmīh <ī> gumēzag ast xwarrahōmand dahišn ī dādār [ud] *pāyīhēd [1] pad abēzagīh ka nē *hāzēd [2] druz ō wināhišn. ciyōn ān ī gāw ī a-winast ī xwānīhēd hadayōš [3] [ī] wizārīhēd dagr-zīwišnīh kē pad ān ī ōy zōr spurr [4] ud sagr bawānd ātaxšān [ud] xwardārān pad-iš ānābīhēd hamāg zōr ī āz *az [5] spenāg mēnōg dāmān pas zīwēnd pad-iz a-xwarišnīh. ciyōn ān ī hōm ī spēd *ī [6] frāšm [7] ī purr-xwarrah kē dārēd bēšaz [8] ī darmān ī a-margīh ud pad-iš bawānd zīndagān hamē-ziwišn ud anī-z was frāhīd xwarrahōmandān [ī] abēzag ī drāz ast pad ōšmurdan.

(36.87) ēk ēn kū gan(n)āg mēnōg [ud] dēwān dām kōxšišn nē xrad-*sardagīhā [9] bawišn-cimīgīhā bē cihrīg-kārīhā ud *gurgīg [10]-xwāhišnīhā.

(36.88) ud spazg dēw [11] kē cihrīg ast pad nēst-zōr [12] [kardan] ī dāmān ēk abar did sārēnēd. ciyōn nē hāzēd ō sārēnišn ī andarag ahlawān sārēnēd druwandān-iz abar druwandān. ciyōn nē hāzēd aw-iz sārēnīdan ī andarag druwandān sārēnēd dēw abar dēw.

(36.89) ud xurdruš xešm ciyōn nē hāzēd ō *kōxšīdārīh [13] ī ahlawān abganēd an-āštīh [ud] kōxšišn mayān ī druwandān. ka nē hāzēd ō ān-iz ī druwandān kōxšīdārīh kōxšēnēd dēwān ud druzān āgenēn.

(36.90) ēdōn-iz āz dēw ka nē hāzēd pad jūdārīh [14] ō ān ī weh andar nixwārēd [15] pad xwēš cihrīg ō ān ī dēwān jūdārīh. [16]

(36.91) ēdōn-iz margēnāg astwihād ī hamē jud-kardār ka nē ahlaw margōmand nē-z andar yazdān [17] dāmān ān ī druwand mīrāg nixwārēd [18] ō druzān pad margīh ī xwad ast jud-karīh [ī] ham-zōrān abzārān.

1. Text: NTLN-yhyt'
2. Text: h'ct'
3. Text gives the Avestan form: hada š
4. BK, K35: wspwl
5. Emended by ed.; Text has: 'cwm
6. Text: W
7. Text: pl'šmy
8. Text: byšz
9. Text: sltwyh'
10. Text: wlgyg'; TD: kwlyk'n; Ed. emends to: wlwnyk' (waranīg?)
11. Emended by ed.; text: ŠDYA-'n
12. Text: LOYT sw'l
13. Text: kwhššnyt'
14. Thus all MSS; text: gwpt'lyh; TD: gwpt'lyh'; J1, H: ywyt'lyh
15. Thus J1, J2, H, DF; Text has: swb'lyt
16. Text; gwpt'lyh
17. K35: gyh'n
18. Thus TD; Text: swb'lyt'

(36.86) One is this. In the state of mixed struggle, the creation of the Creator, endowed with splendour, is mixed. It is preserved in purity when the *druz* does not lead it to injury. Like the immaculate cow, known as *Hadayōš*, explained as having long life, through whose power the fires and the edible things will become perfect and satisfying, and through whom all the power of Greed will be weakened from the creatures of Bounteous Spirit. Afterwards they will live even without need for food. Like the white Hōm, who is bright and full of splendour, who hold the medicine, which is the drug of immortality. Through the livings will possess permanent life, and so will the other numerous pure splendour-possessing creatures, whose (list) is too long to enumerate.

(36.87) One is this. The fight of the Evil Spirit and the demons against the creatures is not by types of wisdom or by well-reasoned existence, but by the work of nature and by wolf-like desire.

(36.88) And the demon Slander, in whose nature is to cause the creatures to be powerless, incites one against the other. If he does not manage to incite (hatred) among the righteous, he incites the wicked against each other. If he does not manage to incite (hatred) even among the wicked, he incites the demons against each other.

(36.89) And the demon Xēšm with a +blood stained club, since does not succeed in making the righteous fight (each other) , causes enmity and strife among the wicked, and when he is unable to succeed in causing strife even between the wicked, he makes the demons and *druzān* fight against each other.

(36.90) Thus, too, the demon Āz, when (she?) cannot manage to cause +chewing among the good ones, rushes in the midst of those of her own kind to cause chewing among the demons.

(36.91) In the same manner, too, Astwihād, who always acts perversely, when he cannot cause the righteous to die, or (when he cannot cause) even the wicked among the creatures of the *yazdān* to die, he rushes towards the *druzān* with death, which is by itself the separation of the powers that share the same force.

(36.92) ciyōn srawēnīd dānāgān dastwarān kū pad fraš(a)gird zamānag *ka *nazdīk spurr mad ō zāyišn [ud] ān kē payrāyēd zād pas a-zāyišnīh bawānd mardōmān [ud] gōspandān.

(36.93) ka widard [ud] murd bawānd hamāg mardōmān ahlawān ud druwandān ī andar gēhān frāz *mānēnd [1] amargān mardōmān ašōgān kē-šān astwihād pad *rasišn [2] az pas-iš ō margīh nē hāzēd.

(36.94) spurr mad ō dušox ruwān ī druwandān kē pašēmān az frēbišn. ān hamist zōr <ī> zadārīh ud dardēnīdārīh [3] [ud] kōxšēnīdārīh ud wanīdārīh [ī] cihrag ast ō dēw abar xwad dēw ud druz abāz wardēd. xwad ō xwad kōxšēnd ud zanēnd ud darrēnd ud <darrēnd> wišōbēnd tā ka andar dušox frāy kunēnd.[4]

(36.95) druwand [ī] pašēmān az dēw <ī> *dardēnīdan[5] *nōg [6] cēr bawēnd ud *nērōgtar [7] bawēnd zēndānīgān az zēndānbānān. spurrīhēd[8] ān ī druwandān *dušox[9]-pattāyīh cē abāz ēstēd abzōn ī wināhān ī az ān wināh ī-šān kard [ud] bērōnīhēnd az dušox.

(36.96) ka-šān ēdōn āmēxtag wināhān az dēwān ān-iz wināh mēnōg passāzīhēnd pad ān ī widāxtag ayōxšust 3 rōz ī rānēd ars. ciyōn-iš nām az ān ars *drayā(b).[10] <ī> hamāg pad ān <ī ka ān> zūr dēw harwisp kunišngarān pad ān ī passāxtag widārēnd. kē-š wināhān <ī> az druz rōz 3 ēdōn wiškīd [ud] wēzēnīhist [ān] ī āmēxtag wināhān ciyōn barišn (?) widaštīhēnd [11] ud gardīhēnd [az] wināh.

(36.97) agārīh ī wišuftār druz rāy pad ān ī rōšn sōhišn ī-šān dādār *bōy [12] wispān ō wispān wēnēnd wispān āmurzēnd wispān wisp rāy ō dādār paywandīhēnd.[13]

1. Text: KTLWN-d
2. Text: dwsšn'; BK, K35: dwšns'n'; J1, J2, H, DF: gwspnd'n'
3. DF: wltynyt'lyh
4. Thus J1, J2, H; DF: OB̠YDWN-d; text: YHWWN-d
5. Text: dltynyt'
6. Text: KWN
7. Text: nylwk'
8. J1, J2, H, DF: OL wspwlyhyt'
9. Text: dwšhwyh
10. Text: dl'y'k'
11. Thus K35; text: tštyhynt'
12. Text: bwt'
13. Emended by ed.; Text has: ptwndhynd

(36.92) As the wise authorities have reported, that near the time of the renovation, when the process of generation is completed and the one who arranges (the renovation) is born, then the men and animals will not give birth anymore.

(36.93) When all the blessed and wicked men in the world have passed away and died then those righteous and immortal men remain whom Astwihād can not subsequently cause to die by reaching (?) them.

(36.94) The souls of the wicked come in their entirety to hell, they who are regretful of the deceit. All those power of smiting, tormenting, fighting, and destroying, which is essential to the demons, turn against the demons themselves and the *druz*. They fight against each other, they smite and tear apart and cause decay until they do in hell their utmost.

(36.95) The wicked, regretful of the torments of the demons, become newly courageous, and the prisoners become stronger than their jailers. The stay in hell of the wicked is completed. For the increase of damage, caused by the sins that they committed, is held back, and it is turned out of hell.

(36.96) As thus their sins are mixed by the demons, the spirit of the sins are tasted for three days by the molten metal which causes (lit. sheds) tears. Its name is because of that 'the sea of tears'. All those who (acted) through the demon of deceit, as well as all the doer of virtues, go through that ordeal. Those whose sins are from the *druz*, in the course of three days their mixed sins are separated and distinguished (from them). As they endured (that ordeal?) they are transferred and turned from sin.

(36.97) In order to make the destructive druz powerless all the (creatures) see each other through the bright sense which is their perception through the Creator, they all have mercy of each other, and they are associated to the Creator because of all (these) things.

(36.98) pas az 3 rōz ī ka *šust [1] pad ān ī pāšom šōyišn [ud] widašt [2] pad ān ī škefttom passāxt [ud] bōxt [3] pad ān ī spūrrīgtom[4] āmār spūrrīg [5] bawēnd yōjdahr abēzag harwisp dām ī dādār ī weh.

(36.99) druz pad ān ī xwēš zēn pad ān ī xwēš rānišn ān ī xwēš kōxšēnīdārīh ān ī dādār xwarrah ud ān ī yazdān [zōr] pērōzīhēnd [6] cē nēst *bawēnd [7] [ud] andar cār nēst bawānd. hamist arwēsīhēnd [8] *awištābīhēnd [9] ud *ānābīhēnd.[10] ēd cē purr-dardīhā ud spurr-uzmūdīhā [11] *ayārdēnd [12] abāz *hanbāhēnd pad ān ī judīh ī abzārān. ciyōn gētīgīg margōmandān gyān az tan judāgīhēd wišuftagīhā jud-abzārīhā ud ānāft-zōrīhā ēd cē stardīhā agārīhā ud a-jumbāgīhā. *mānāg [13] ō stī ī cihrīg wizandišn ī nigān abar nē ādūg. abar hāwandīh [ud] kām [ī] wizendišnīh [14] bērōn abganīhēnd. ēc bahr ud bahrān bahr ī az druzīh tā-z cand xwurdag ī 3 *baxšišn [ī] andar ēn rōšnīh parwast az druzīh nē mānēd.

(36.100) ān ī ahlaw āgāh az xwad xwarrah *ud dēn ī mēnōg [dād? ī] pad ān ī rōšn kirb a-sāmānīhā ham-pērāmōn ī asmān parwandīhēd. ka-š az har(w) kust-ē bawēd zahīh rāy 3 and-cand zamīg [ī] ohrmazd dād. andar ān <ī> wirāyēd <ī> dām ī-š dād pad ān ī xwēš kāmag ud duš-dahišn abāz passāzēd. tanān ka-šān passāzišn az-iz ān <ī> gil ī ušdāštār (?) *a-kanārīhā [15] xwārīh ud purr xwārīh u-šān nam az ān āb ī yōjdahrēnīd ardwisur [16] ī a-winast. u-š *kē [17] ān ī weh pādār <W MNWc> *paywandēd az-iz ān [ī] hadayōš gāw zōr ī hamēšag sagrīh [18] ud ahōšīh. ud abāz dahīhēd zīndagīh ō tan dārēnd gyān ī

1. Text: YHWWNyt; J1, J2, H, DF: omit
2. TD: HLLWN YHWWN-t' d't'
3. J1, J2, H, DF add: YHWWN-yt'
4. Thus all MSS; text, TD: wspwlyktwm
5. Thus all MSS; text, TD: wspwlyk
6. Emended by ed. to: pylwcyh lncyhynd(?)
7. Text: YHWWN-yt
8. K35: 'lwdyhynd
9. Text: 'wPtynd
10. Text: 'n'psyhynd
11. DF: wspwl 'wmndyh'
12. Text: 'dyb'lynd
13. Text: W m'n'
14. Thus J1, J2, H; Text: cndšnyh
15. Emended by ed.; Text: 'k'lyh'
16. Text: 'lkynswr
17. Text: MN
18. Emended by ed.; Text: šylyh; K35, DF: wyhglyh

(36.98) After three days, when they have washed in the best washing, and undergone that most sever ordeal, and been declared innocent in that most complete reckoning, all the creatures of the good Creator will be completely purified and clean.

(36.99) The druz, with her own weapons, her own +fighting, her own incitement to struggle, will be vanquished through the splendour of the Creator and the power of the *yazdān*. All of them (i.e. *druzān)* will be twisted, oppressed and weakened. That is because, experiencing much pain and with full experience, they will be agitated, while coming back, through the separation of faculties. Just as with regard to the mortal material beings the soul is separated from the body by decay, by a separation of faculties, and by weakening of powers, that is because of its becoming stunned, ineffective, and motionless. It is similar to the shaking of an individual being of fine appearance, which is buried and is without power. At (reaching) equality (i.e. having reached equanimity?) (and through) their desire to shake, they are thrown outside. No part, or part of a part, of *druzīh* nature, not even as much as a small part which is a third of a portion, which is within this enclosure of light, will remain of the nature of *druzīh*.

(36.100) The Righteous Wise One (i.e. Ohrmazd?) [created?] from his own self the splendour and the spiritual *dēn*, which surrounds the sky all around in luminous form without borders. On each side there is for depth three times (the depth) of Ohrmazd-created earth. Within it he will put in order the creatures created by him for his pleasure and will reconstitute the evil creation. The persons, whose disposition was from the clay of Aušdāštār (? Ušēdarmāh?), (received?) boundless ease and fullness of comfort, and their moisture is from the water consecrated by the immaculate Ardwisur. And he, who is the best protector ... will continuously provide (to the creatures) from the *Hadayōš* cow, the power of perpetual satisfaction and immortality, they will become incorruptible and devoid of wear, old age, death,

anōšag bawēnd a-sōyišn [1] a-pōyišn a-zarmān a-marg ud a-bēš a-yask ud hamē-zindag ud hamē-sūd.

(36.101) pas az fraš(a)gird nē bawēd dēw cē nē bawēd frēb. ud nē [bawēd] druz cē nēst drōzišn. nē bawēd angraman cē nēst zadārīh. nē bawēd dušox cē nēst druwandīh. nē bawēd kōxšišn cē nē bawēd xešm. nē bawēd kēn cē nēst wizāy.[2] nē bawēd dard cē nēst wēmārīh. nē bawēd *cēhag [3] cē nēst bīm. nē bawēd niyāz cē nēst āz. nē bawēd šarm cē nēst zištīh. nē bawēd drō cē nēst drō-kām. nē bawēd ag-dēnīh cē nēst drō-gōwišnīh. ud nē bawēd wad cē abesīhist tōhmag.[4] pad ān ī guft ēstēd kū wispān duš-humatān duš-huxtān dušxwaršt[ān] wispān wattarān tōhmag[5] <ī> darrēnišn az gan(n)āg mēnōg.

(36.102) pad ān ī ōy wanīh wanīhēd har(w) wattar. pad wattarīh wanīh *spurrīhēd [6] har(w) wehīh. andar zamānag ī spurr-wehīh ēc dard bēš pad ēc cār ō ēc dām handāxtan nē šāyēd.

(36.103) ān ī nūn [7] ka must ō tan *paykōbēd [8] ayāb tēx [ī] burāg be ō handām *zanēd āmēxtagīh ī jud-gōhr ī druz [ī] andar tan ō abzārān rāy burrišn [9] ud rēš zāyēd. pad ān zamānag ī hām-dādīh [10] ka handām ō handām *paykōbēd [11] ayāb ān-iz ciyōn kārd ud šafšēr ud warz ud sang ud tigr be ō tan rasēd ēc dard [ud] duš-xwārīh nē bē ō padīrag ān ī nōg dard andar ān zamānag *šēdā [12] rasēd. cē nūn dard ī az ān zanišn [ud] paykōbišn [13] hamē az ān [ī] jud-gōhr ud sazišnīg rāy. andar ān hangām hamāg ham-gōhr ham-sāzišn hamē nē bawēd bēš.

(36.104) andar ān ī nēktom zamānag xwaršēd [ud] māh [ud] rōšnān bawānd bē nē niyāz ō rōz [14] ud gardišn ud spīzišn [15] ud frāšm cē gēhān hamāg rōšn ud a-tār ud wispān-iz dāmān rōšn.

1. Emended by ed.; Text: ʾywyn'
2. K35, DF: wzyh
3. Text: cyhʾk'
4. Thus J1, J2, H, DF; text: twmk'
5. Thus J1, J2, H, DF; text: twmk'
6. Text: wyspwlyhyt'
7. Emended by ed.; Text: nwk'
8. Text: ptkpšn'; DF: ptscšn'; J1, H: PWN typšn'
9. Thus K35; text: blšn'
10. Text, DF: hʾm šʾtʾn; DF: hʾmšʾtyh; hʾm šʾtyh
11. Text: ptkpyhyt'; TD: ptkyhyt'
12. Text: wnšytʾy; TD: wnšytʾ
13. Text: ptkpšn'; DF: ptscšn'; J1, H: PWN typšn'
14. Td, J1, J2, H: dlnc'
15. TD: W sʾcšn

suffering, and sickness, and will become ever-alive and of eternal benefit.

(36.101) After the renovation there is no druz since there is no deceit, and there is no *druz* since there is no falsehood, there is no Ahreman since there is no destruction, there is no hell since there is no wickedness, there is no struggle since there is no anger, there is no malice since there is no harm, there is no pain since there is no disease, there is no grief since there is no fear, there is no need since there is no lust, there is no shame since there is no ugliness, there is no lie since there is no desire to lie, there is no infidelity since there is no false speech, and there is no evil since (its) offspring is destroyed in that it is said that the race of all evil thoughts and all evil speech and all evil deeds should be torn apart by the Evil Spirit.

(36.102) By his(i.e.Ahreman) destruction every evil is destroyed, by the destruction of evil every goodness is perfected, and during the time of perfect goodness it is not possible to allot any pain or harm by any means to any creature.

(36.103) At the present time when a fist hits the body, a cutting blade strikes a limb, there is born (from this) a cut and a wound because of the fact that the *druz* of evil substance who is in the body is mixed within the faculties (of man). At that time of harmonious law (i.e. the time of eschatology), when one limb hits another, or something like a knife, sword, mace, stone, or arrow gets to the body, there is no pain or trouble, but against the new pain at that time bliss will come. For at the present time the pain that comes from smiting and hitting is always due to the one that is of evil substance and that is transient. At that time (i.e. after the renovation) all (beings) will be with the same substance and with the same constitution, and there will never be affliction.

(36.104) In that most good time there will be sun, moon and shining (stars), but there will be no need for light, revolution (of the luminaries), and diffusion of luminosity, because the whole world will be light, bright, and there will be light to all the creatures.

(36.105) awēšān-iz rōšnān bawānd *waxšišn [1] purr-šēdāīh ud harwisp-iz dām ham-kām ud ham-dōšišn

(36.106) kadām-jān-iz [2] margōmandān pad nēkīh ī wispān dāmān an-arešk [ud] ham-rāmišn. u-š gāh ud rāmišn ān urwāzēd ī-š mad ēstēd az ān ī xwarrah ī *wisp-weh [3] tuwānīgīh ī ōy ī wisp-weh kē āgāh wispān-wisp pad xwēš spurr-xwābarīh [ud] wisp-cārīh. baxšēd ō kirbakkarān[4] sazāg pāyagīh ān zōr ī jadag-xīrīh wehīh ud radīh ud āhanjīdag āhanjīdag āhanjīdārīh.

(36.107) ciyōn guft abar ān ī ōy dām *tuwānīh [5] kū ātaxš wādgar ātaxš *ābgar [6] ud ātaxš gilgar ud wād ātaxšgar ud wād *ābgar [7] ud wād gilgar ud āb ātaxšgar ud āb wādgar ud āb gilgar ud gil ātaxšgar ud gil wādgar ud gil ābgar. mēnōg wihānag-iz [ī] mēnōg wihānag-iz [ī] gētīg [gētīg] wihānag-iz [ī] gētīg wihānag-iz [ī] mēnōg.

(36.108) pad ōy hamēšag tuwānīgīh [ī] *wisp-iz-šān [8] (?) ruwānān [ud] frawahrān kāmag ud dōšišnīh [ud] ān ī dādār xwarrah ud ān ī dādār framān *abē-ranj (?) [ud] purr-urwāz.

(36.109) pad homānāg ī tā drayābān ud rōdān ud kōfān ud urwarān ud abārīg ābān kirbān ī dahišn xwārīhēnd brāzīhēnd. *ā-šān [9] ruwānān frawahrān xwad-iz kōdag mēnōgān hamist *margōmandān [10] pad-iš rāmīhēnd ud urwāhmīhēnd jāwēdānīg frāz *gašēnd [11] andar ān ī spurr-urwāhm [12] win(n)ārīhēnd.

PURSIŠN 37

(37.1) 37-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū paymān ī kirbag ī paydāg ēg-imān kard was ast ayāb nē ciyōn ast.

[1]- Text: ʾšʾnʾ
[2]- Text: kdʾmkʾnc; DF: ktʾmʾnc; kwtʾmkʾnc
[3]- Text: wspyhʾ; DF: wspyh
[4]- Text: krpkglʾnʾ
[5]- Ed. has emended to: kʾmkʾ twbʾn or hʾm twbʾn (?)
[6]- Text: MA-gl for MYA-kl
[7]- Text: MA-gl for MYA-kl
[8]- Text: wsp ME šʾnʾ; J1, H: omit šʾnʾ
[9]- Text: šʾnʾ
[10]- Text: mʾlšnʾmndʾnʾ
[11]- Ed. emends to SGYTWNykʾnʾ; text, TD: gštykʾn; K35, DF: gštykJ1, J2, H: wsʾtykʾ
[12]- Text: spwlwʾhm; J1, J2, H: wspʾ wlwʾhm

(36.105) These luminaries also will be shining and full of ecstasy, and all the creatures also will have the same will and the same pleasure.

(36.106) All mortals, no matter who, are unenvious of the goodness of all creatures and they have the same pleasure. He enjoys the place and the comfort which comes from that glory of (the Creator) who has all the powers and who is all-good and aware of everything through his own perfect beneficence and complete means. He will distribute to the righteous a fitting grade, the power of fortune (lit. distributing good things), goodness, chieftainship, and the leadership of each one who is +led, separately.

(36.107) As it is said concerning the power of the creatures: Fire brings about air, fire brings about water, fire brings about earth. Air brings about fire, air brings about water, air brings about earth. Water brings about fire, water brings about air, water brings about earth. Earth brings about fire, earth brings about air, earth brings about water. *Mēnōg* is the cause of both *mēnōg* and *gētīg*; *[Gētīg]* is the cause of both *gētīg* and *mēnōg*.

(36.108) Through the power of all their souls, and the desire and love of the *frawahrs*, and the splendour of the Creator and the command of the Creator, (they will be) free from oppression and full of joy.

(36.109) In the same way as seas, rivers, mountains, plants, and other (kinds) of water the (various) shapes of the creation come to be at ease and shine, so their souls and their *frawahrs* themselves, and even the small *mēnōg* entities, together with the mortals, will be joyful and pleased by that, and for eternity they will be +glad (?) and will be established in perfect joy.

QUESTION 37

(37.1) The thirty-seventh question: How is the measure which reveals whether the meritorious deeds done by us is enough or not?

(37.2) pāsox ēd [1] kū har(w) menišn gōwišn kunišn kē-š bar rāmišn nēkīh ud pādāšn ī burzišnīg. ī ka bar ī nēk ayābišnīg [2] abzōn ī menišn gōwišn kunišn cimīg humat hūxt huwaršt. az [3] hangirdīgīhā kirbag dām [4] bar rāmišn ud burzišn ī ruwān ī-š pādāšnīg [5] rasišn az ganj ī hamēšag-sūd ī anōšag ī a-kanārag kē hagriz nē abesīhēd.

(37.3) ān rāy paymān [6] ī kirbag wasīh nē [7] bawēd cē har(w) kē-š wēš warzēd pad wēštar warzīd ān bar wēštar xwēšēnēd. arzānīgtar nē ayābīhēd ō spurrīgīh [8] ī ān paymānag az ān wēštar ayābīd. nē abāyēd [ud] nē-z ayābīhēd be ō spurrīgīh ī a-kanāragīh kanārag.

PURSIŠN 38

(38.1) 38-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū cim ud wihān ī kustīg bastan cē ast kē ka frāz bandēnd ēdōn wuzurg arzānīg[9] ka nē bandēnd ēdōn garān wināh guft ēstēd.

(38.2) pāsox ēd kū wisp-weh mēnōgān mēnōgtom ud xwadāyān xwadāytom dādār [ī] wehīgān nē niyāz ast ō driyōšān mardōmān pad ēc xīr [ud] tis [10] cē-š hamāg xwad. u-š pad-iš kāmag xwadāy [ī] wispān-tuwān az mardōmān ēn xwāhēd: drust-wimandīhā ēstādan [11] ī pad rāst bandagīh rāy nišānīh-iz bowandagīh.

(38.3) ciyōn wēnīhēd rōšn paydāg andar hamāg [12] dād ud dēn ud wurrōyišn hamist mardōm pad nām ud paristišn [ī] yazd namāz pad mādagwartar ud frēzwānīgtar a-wizīrišnīgtar ud har(w) rōz andar paristišn ī yazd namāz burd pad mahist kār hangārēnd.

(38.4) ud pad nigerišn ī gētīg ud gōhr [ī] dānišn [13] [ud] cimīgīhā az namāz-barišnīh ēc sūd ī gētīgīg nē paydāg ī ciyōn az draxtān bar ud

1- Thus TD; others: ZNE
2- Text: h'cšnyk; DF: wh'cšnyk
3- Thus TD; others: MNW
4- TD: ŠM
5- K35: p'tyhšnyh; DF: p'twyhšn'
6- Thus TD; others: pym'nk'
7- TD: l'd
8- J1, J2, H, K35: spwlyh
9- K35: 'lc'wmnd
10- Text: MN ZNE; K35: W MN YWM
11- Thus K35; text: YKWYMWN-yt'
12- Text: hm'y
13- K35: YHWWN-šn'

(37.2) The reply is this, that every thought, word, and deed whose consequence is pleasure, goodness, and praiseworthy reward (is regarded as) good thoughts, good speech and good deeds, and if the good result of thought, speech and deeds are obtainable, their increasing is reasonable. In summary, from meritorious deeds of creatures, the pleasure and the honour of soul is resulted. its reward reaches from the ever-beneficial and immortal and unlimited treasure which shall never destroy.

(37.3) There is no measure for the increasing of good deeds for, more whoever performs (good deeds) more he appropriates its fruit through having performed more (good deed); and it is not possible to find more worthy than the more fruits he has found to fulfil the measure (of good deeds), as it is not possible to find a boundary to complete the boundlessness.

QUESTION 38

(38.1) The thirty-eighth question: what is the reason for and the purpose of tying a +*kustīg*, of which it is said, those who tie it are worthy of such greatness, and those who do not tie it commit such a severe sin.

(38.2) The reply is this: the all-good, most spiritual of the spirits, most lordly of Lords, the Creator of the good has no need at all for lowly mankind for any thing or any matter, since everything is (already) His. According to His will the all-powerful Lord requires this of mankind to keep within the proper limits, that is, which is indeed a complete sign of (their) true service.

(38.3) As it is seen, (it is) clearly revealed in +all the law, religion and belief, reverence for the name and worship of *yazad* is more essential and more obligatory and more necessary for all mankind (than anything) and they consider the paying of homage everyday, and the worship of *yazad* as the greatest of deeds.

(38.4) From a worldly point of view, scientifically and logically, no worldly benefit is produced from the paying of homage, as fruit is produced from trees, taste from foods, fragrance from flowers, splendour from colours,

az xwarišnān mizag ud az sprahmān [1] bōy ud az gōnagān bām ud az wiškuftagān hu-cihrīh ud [2] az rūragān bēšazišnīh ud az saxwanān wizīdārīh paydāg.

(38.5) bē ēwāzīg sar frōd āwarišnīh pad ērīh nišānag ciyōn ka sar andar tan [3] abardom [4] bālistīgtom tā-z [5] ēr pāyag ī andar tan ī azērīgtom [6] andar menišn ī pad paristišn [ud] nāmīh [ud] namāzīh frōd *āwarīhēd [7] abar zamīg nihīhēd nimāyišn ī astīh ī abar xwad pad kehist bandagīh.[8]

(38.6) abāg ān kū az draxtān xwarišn [ud] abārīg ōšmurd was sūd ī gētīgīg paydāg ud az [9] namāz burdan ān nišānag ud nimāyišn paydāg [ī] pas-iz ān ī nišān ī ērīh bandagīh ast wuzurg.

(38.7) amaragānīhā mardōm namāz-barišnīh ō šēd frēzwānīgtar dārēnd [10] ud az ān ī ka pad nām ī yazd draxt kārēnd ud āfurišn [11] xwarēnd abārīg ān ī [12] gētīgīg kār ī gētīgīg-sūdīh warzēnd [13] az-iz ēn ēk kār ī im gēhān hamāg wurrōyišn pad kardag dārēnd.

(38.8) pad warzišn amaragānīg *ōstīgānīhā [14] paydāg kū andar menišn [15] [ī] paristišn daxšag [ud] nišān wuzurg kār [ī] pad-iš wuzurg bōzišn.

(38.9) ēn band ī kustīg xwānīhēd ī pad mayān [ī] tan bandīhēd bōzišn cim wasīhā ast.

(38.10) u-š fradom bōzišn ēn kū: ōy ī yazdān *paristag [16] az ān ī a-drō dēn kē-š nimāyišn dānišnīg abāg tāštīg šnāyēnišn pad xrad ī

1. Text: splm'n
2. Emended by ed.; text has MNW; K35: MN
3. TD: swtn'
4. Text adds BYN but ed. omits; K35: W BYN
5. TD: wnc; K35, J1, J2, H: wndc
6. Thus K35; text has 'plyktwm
7. Text: YHYTWYWN-tyt
8. Text: bwndgyh
9. Emended by ed.; text has MNW; TD also adds AYK
10. Thus all MSS; TD: YHSNN-'nd
11. Text: 'p̄lšn'
12. All but TD omit ZK Y
13. Thus all MSS; text, TD: wlc'nd
14. Text: 'wstykyh'; TD: 'wstyh'; K35: 'wstkyh'; J1, J2, H: w'wstkyh'
15. Emended by ed.; Text: myn' BYN
16. Text: plystk'

beauty from blossoms, healing from medicinal herbs and understanding from words.

(38.5) But to lower one's head is a particular sign of humility, hence when the head, which is the highest and most superior (part) of the body, is bowed down to the lowest position of the body and placed on the ground in contemplation, that is in+worship and (recitation of) the name and homage, (it is) a signification of being which is superior to oneself through the lowest servitude.

(38.6) Just as much worldly benefit is produced from trees, food and other things (already) considered, from paying homage that sign and signification are produced behind which the sign of humility and +service is great.

(38.7) People generally feel more obliged to pay homage to +brightness and from that (reason that) when they plant a tree in the name of *yazad* they (later) eat its +fruit, they perform other worldly deeds for the benefit of the physical world, indeed from this one work of this world (i.e. paying homage) they put all their belief into +practice.

(38.8) In (religious) practice generally it is certainly clear that in the contemplation of worship is a mark and a sign of a great action, which leads to great salvation.

(38.9) This belt which is called kustīg which is tied about the middle of the body is the cause of many salvations.

(38.10) The first (reason for) salvation is that he who is the servant of the *yazdān* of the true religion, whose guidance is full of knowledge, with certain happiness, through the wisdom of the true religion, ought to wear that spiritual and customary indication of belief, and ought to make his profession of service to the *yazdān* and the particular religion thereby. Indeed the command is imposed on (all) the religious, just as it is (imposed)

rāstīhā dēn ān ī *mēnōgīg [1] ud ristagīg wurrōyišnīg nimāyišn pad tan *dāštan [2] āstawānīh ud yazdān bandagīh [3] ud dēnīg ēwāzīg pad-iš guftan. ō-z dēnīgān framūd ciyōn ān ī yazdān dēn sūdōmandān dastwarān owōn im-iz framān-burdārīhā bōzišnīg cim.

(38.11) ēk ēn kū ciyōn ōstīgānīhā ēwarīg kehist bandag [4] ud mahist xwadāy <ud> sazāg ka dārēnd abar tan band ī bandagīh [5] nišān ciyōn nē ēwēn ān andak andar-iz zamānag pad a-sardār [6] dāštan [ud] *az [7] bandagīh [8] raftan nē-z sazāg raftan pad a-bandagīhā bē az daxšag ī xwadāy bandagīh.[9]

(38.12) ēk ēn kū andar dēn framūd ēstēd menišn gōwišn kunišn az wināh bastag pad band dāštan ciyōn bandag.[10] az bastan wināhīhā az pākīh ī menišn kē-š xānag dil im band ī bandagīh [11] daxšag mayān ī tan ud pēš [ī] dil dāštan. daxšag ud nišān ī bastan wināhīhā hamēšag ayādīh ī ō xwēš menišn handēmānīgān wēnišn. ān niyābagīh ī pad band dāštan ī pad menišn gōwišn kunišn az wināh pad-iz uzmāyišn paydāg was pahrēz. <ī> dāštārīh ī im band pad cim ud wihān az was wināh wēš ayādīh ī ī-š pad im rāh pad ān pahrēz.

(38.13) ēk ēn kū pēšēnīg dēn-*āgāhān [12] be ō amā pēšēnīgān [ud] ō amā ēn sraw paywast ka ēbgat be dām mad frahist [13] dēw ud parīg [14] dwārīd hēnd pad būm andarwāy ud tā ō azēr [ī] ān ī starān gāh.

(38.14) u-šān dīd wasān rōšnān ān-iz ī dēn xwarrah kē band ud drubuštīh ud parwand ī wispān kāmagān kirbagān kē [15] brāzīhist rōšn kustīg homānāg u-š parwast pad parwand wispān rōšnān ciyōn parwand ān ī harwisp-āgāh xrad parwast bawēd wispān-āgāh yazdān.

1- Text: mynwk
2- Text: d’št'
3- Text: bwndkyh
4- Text: bwndk'
5- Text: bwndkyh
6- TD, K35: ’srd’lyh štn'; J1, J2, H: 2 srd’l d’štn'; DF: 2 srd’lyh d’štn'
7- Text: MNW
8- Text: bwndkyh
9- Thus DF; text: bwndkyh
10- Text: bnd; BK: bwnd; K35: bwndk
11- K35: bwndk
12- Text: ’k’yhd’n'; DF: ’k’syhd’n'
13- Emended by ed.; Text: pl’y’t'
14- Thus k35; others: OL dwb’lyt'
15- Thus J1, J2, H, DF; text: AMT

on the religious authorities (dastwars) who are beneficial to the religion of the *yazdān*, so carrying out of this command is the cause of salvation.

(38.11) One (reason) is that since it is certainly sure that it is suitable for (both) the most humble servant and the greatest Lord to wear a girdle as a sign of service, and just as it is not proper even a short time to have no master and to depart from service, neither is it proper to go around ungirdled without the sign of service to the Lord.

(38.12) One (reason) is this, that one is commanded in the religion to keep one's thoughts, speech and action restrained from sin by a girdle, like a servant. To restrain the sinfulness from the purity of (one's) thought, whose abode is the heart, one should wear this girdle, the sign of service, about the middle of one's body, near to one's heart. One should observe in the presence of one's mind the sign and mark as a constant reminder of restraining sins. The suitability of restraining one's thought, speech and action from sin with the girdle is indeed clear in as a great protection: the purpose and the reason for wearing this girdle is as a reminder of many more sins against which it (affords) protection in this way.

(38.13) One is this, that those who were acquainted with the religion in former times have transmitted these words to our predecessors and to us: When the adversary attacked the creation, most of the demons and witches rushed to the earth and to the air and up to (just) below the star station.

(38.14) And they saw a multitude of luminaries and the Glory of the religion, which is the girdle and fortification and enclosure of all those who love virtue and which shone like a bright *kustīg*, and all the luminaries surrounded by the girdle, as the girdle of omniscient wisdom encloses the all-knowing *yazdān*.

(38.15) ān wuzurg xwarrah ī gumān-wizār ī abēzag dēn ēdōn hu-cihr ud dūr brāzišn būd ciyōn gōwīhēd andar mānsar kū: ēbyānghan [1] ī star-pēsīd ī mēnōgān-tāšīd weh-dēn ī māzdēsnān.

(38.16) tarsīd harwisp dēw [ud] druz az wuzurg xwarrah ī dēn guft [estēd] kū pad ōšmurišn warzišn [ud] rawāg-dahišnīh ī im rištag ī frazānag dēn hamāgān druzān ānābīhēd ud fraš(a)gird pad kāmag ī axwān dahīhed.

(38.17) ān-iz ī tars rāy ēc az dēwān druzān māzantom [2] az dēwān nē dwārīd ō sāmān ān ī abardom srišwadag pad abēzagīh an-ēbgatīh.

(38.18) framāyēd andar dēn be ō mardōmān abērtar be ō dēn-burdārān pad <ān> [3] dēn ān parwand ēbyāstan. kustīg-ē az gētīg gāh ud dēnīg andar mayānag srišwadag nazd ō abarīgtom srišwadag ī tan.

(38.19) ēn-iz kū jam ī šēd ī wiwanghan kē andar gētīg-rawišnīh pad ān ī gētīgīg kār farroxtom ud wispān kišwarān [4] sēj [5] ud margīh abāz dāštār [ud] a-zarmānīh a-margīh būd win(n)ārdār. ka az druz frēbīhist u-š az ohrmazd bandagīh [6] be ō abardom xwadāyīh ārzōgēnīd.

(38.20) u-š dām-dādārīh abar xwēš guft [ud] pad ān drōzišn abar anōdag būd az *brāh [7] [ud] xwarrah u-š [8] darrēnišn [9] [pad] dēw mardōm andar ān darrēnišn [10] abesīhīd az dast ī *bēwarasp. [11]

(38.21) u-š āmurzišn zast az dādār purr xwābar. u-š pad tōzišn ī ān hilīd [12] bandagīh [13] [ī] dādār ā-š guft [ud] handarzēnīd bē ō pasēnīgān. u-š az yazdān nigēz abāg was frārōn kār kē nērōg ī

1- Text: 'yypy''nghn'
2- Thus BK; text has mzn'twm
3- Thus TD, BK, K35
4- Emended by ed.; Text: wsp' hndyšwl'n'
5- Emended by ed.; all Mss have wsp'
6- K35: omits
7- Text: lyy
8- Text: AP-š'n
9- Thus TD, K35; text has nklynšn'
10- Thus text; ed. emends to klynšn'
11- Text: wwlspk'
12- Text: ŠBKWN-ty
13- Text: bwndkyh

(38.15) +That great Glory of the doubt-dispelling, holy religion, was so beautiful and resplendent from afar, as is said in scripture: 'the star-studded, spiritually formed girdle of the Good Religion of the Mazdā-worshipers'.

(38.16) All the demons and druz were afraid of the great Glory of the religion, and it is said that by the remembering, wearing and propagating of this cord of the wise religion all the *druzān* shall be frustrated and renovation will come about according to the will of (all) beings.

(38.17) Also because of that fear, none of the demons and druzān and the most gigantic demons will penetrate to the boundaries of that top third (of the sky) which consists of holiness and (where there is) no adversary.

(38.18) In the religion it is incumbent upon people, especially the pious, to wear that girdle of the religion. The material and spiritual place of a *kustīg* should be in the middle third near to the uppermost third of the body.

(38.19) Likewise Jam, the shining one, son of Wiwanghan, who was the most fortunate in (his) worldly existence and in worldly affairs and prevented trouble and death in all the regions and who dispensed agelessness and immortality, nonetheless he was deceived by the *druz* and desired, in (spite of his) state of servitude to Ohrmazd, (His) supreme lordship.

(38.20) And he attributed to himself the creation of the creatures, and on account of that falsehood he became separated from that brilliance and glory, and he was torn apart by the demons and during that tearing apart he was destroyed by Bēwarasp.

(38.21) And he asked forgiveness from the Creator who is most beneficent. And in atonement for having abandoned the service of the Creator he informed and advised +those who came after him. He relayed to the people the command of the Lord in respect of the many good deeds which reduce

sēj [1] abar wizārīhēd ud rāh ī paymānīg [2] ī abar zōrīhēd ka band pad mayān dāštan be ō mardōmān framūd ham framāyēnd. ōy purr xwarrah dahibed ī gēhān xwadāy pad-iz xwarrahōmandīh hu-dahišn hu-daxšag.

(38.22) ēk ēn kū ciyōn pad ān cim ī az yazdān *paywandišn [3] framūd pēš-iz az rasišn ī spitāmān zardušt dāštan [ī] kustīg. pas ān ī yazdān waxšwar ahlaw zardušt <ī> weh mēnōgān framāyišn ī dēn nigēzišn framūd abāg guft ī yazdān [ud] stāyišnīg abestāg ud abar āstawānīh ī pad weh-dēn im dēnīg parwand dēnīg nērangīhā pērāmōn [ī] tan azabar [ī] ān ī wahmanīg wastarag haspīhēd [4] ciyōn ham kūs (?) parwandišnīg xrad kē-š dēn tōmag.

(38.23) ān sraw[ēn]īhēd rāstīhā kū amaragān mardōmān ham ristagīhā im frārōn parwand [ī] dēn nērangīg bandagīh [ī] dādār nimāyišnīg pad mayān ī tan hspyh'n (?) dārēnd. nērōg sēj [5] škasttar ud rāh ī ō wināh bastagtar ud kām ī dēwān kastagtar [6] bawēd.

(38.24) ēk ēn kū *a-dānāg kū ka ōy mad kē abē-bandīh ud *an-ēbyānghanīh pad dād framūd škefttar ud garāntar sēj [7] andar āwām owōn paydāgīhist ī ham gugāy ō ān ī dēn nigēz gōwīhēd pad pursišn pāsox ud ēwāz kū: dādār pad-iš kē ast sēj [8] ī nihān-rawišn paydāg [9] — kū-š rawišnīh pad kē — u-š guft ohrmazd kū: pad ān ī wattar dēn nimūdār kē andar sāl ast 3 tōmag (?) [nē] *ēbyānghanēd kū šabīg kustīg nē dārēd u-š dād-iz ēd kū nē abāyēd dāštan.

(38.25) ka dād ī abē-bandīh owōn garān ī ka ān dād padīrīhēd [10] sēj [11] zōrīhēd nigerīhēd. nē dāštan [ī] im band pas az framān ī jam abar dāštan fradom daxšag ī margēnīdār <ī> sej [12] pad-iš guftan [13] [ud] pad dād nihādan har(w) 2 bār sēj [14] garāntar paydāgīhist.

1. Text: sc
2. Text: ptm'nk
3. All MSS but TD: ptwyhšn'; TD: pwyšn'
4. TD: HZYTWN-yhyt'
5. Text: sc'
6. TD: kystktl; BK: kwstktl
7. Text: sc
8. Thus K35; TD: wsp'
9. Thus J1, J2, H, DF; text has: pyt'kyh
10. Text: MKBLWN-tyyhyt'; DF: d'twm YBLWN-šn š'yt'; J1, J2, H: d'twm YBLWN-ty š'yt'
11. TD: wsp'n'
12. Text: sc'
13. Text: gwpt'
14. Text: sc'

the power of evil, and that if they wear the girdle the way of moderation shall be strengthened; and that they should (also) relay (such) command (to posterity). He (Jam) was the ruler and the Lord of the world who, because of his good fortune, was a good example of the good creation.

(38.22) One (reason) is this, that the wearing of the kustīg, on account of its connection to the *yazdān*, was ordained before the coming of Spitāmān Zardušt. Then the prophet of the *yazdān*, Holy Zardušt explained the command of the good spirits, the exposition of the religion along with the words of the *yazdān* and the praiseworthy Avesta, and for the profession of the Good Religion they should wear this religious cord over the Wahmanīg garment together with the religious incantations like (?) the enclosing wisdom whose seed is religion.

(38.23) It is justly reported that generally people with the same opinion wear this righteous cord of the religion as a ritual performance of service to the Creator worn on the middle of the body. It is the breaker of the power of evil and very obstructive to the path of sin and very much destroys the will of the demons.

(38.24) One (reason) is this, when an ignorant person arrives, ungirdled and having no sacred cord, which is ordained in the religion, very grievous and severe danger thus appears at that time, which is also the testimony in the exposition of the religion in the form of question and answer, and the words are: 'O Creator, in whom is manifest the danger of hidden operation, and in whom does it operate?' and Ohrmazd said: 'In that bad practitioner of religion, who in one year does not tie his *kustīg*? three times (?) in a year, and has no under-shirt or *kustīg*, and whose decision is that it is not necessary to wear it'.

(38.25) Since the decision of having no sacred cord is so severe (i.e. in its consequences), when that decision is accepted, it is observed that danger is strengthened. To not wearing this girdle, after the command of Jam about wearing it, is the first sign of the destructive danger. To talk and act on this decision both is revealed as being very severe danger.

(38.26) ān ī abērtar cimīg owōn ciyōn sēj [1] zadār jam ī šēd handarzēnīd ud [2] wehān dastwarān zardušt ī spitāmān guft kū: kustīg az nišān ī yazdān bandagīh[3] [ud] daxšag ī wināh-bandīh [4] [ud] murwāg ī sēj-šken(n)īh ast. pad ān ī dēnīg nērang abāg ān ī xwarrahōmand abestāg pad dil nazdīh mayān [ī] tan ēbyāstan [ud] parwastan.

(38.27) *ōh-iz [5] az gyāg ī ham bur [6] [ī kustīg] daxšagīhēd [7] <ud> ristag ī wizīngar cē ciyōn dānāg mardōm [ī] wizīn-kardār bawēd andarag sūd [ud] zyān andarag wehīh ud wattarīh owōn-iz gyāg ī kustīg andarag ud ēr ud abar.

(38.28) pad ērīh [ī] kustīg ast widarag *pad-iš [8] xwēš-tan [9] winastagīh [ud] nihān-kanišnīh-iz ī gyān. pad abarīh [10] [ī] kustīg ast rāh ī menišn gōwišn kunišn wēnišn āšnawišn [ud] kārīh ī gyān.

(38.29) ud ham dēn kustīg bandišnīh mānāg xwarrah ī mayān xwarrahān yazdān cē xwad ast pad abāgīh ī axw [ud] dil kē gyāg ī menišn [ud] xānag ī gyān. u-š pad ulīh ī ast cašm ud gōš uzwān mazg ī kē hēnd xānag ī wēnāgīh ud āšnawāgīh ud gōwāgīh ud ōš ud wīr. u-š pad frōdīh ast ān ī zāyišn ī pid mān.[11]

(38.30) ka ēn kustīg bandīhēd kē-š and daxšag nišān murwāg abāg ēn xwarrahōmandān ēwēnag [12] ī xwarrahōmandān ud ristag ī frazānagān [ud] framān ī dahibedān ud wizīr ī frēstagān abar parwast ēstēd. ān sēj [13] ī nihān-rawišn-iz kē az ān ī jam was tars [ud] druz ī a-sālārīh [14] kē warzišn ī mardōmān ān ī ohrmazd bandagīh a-kām dēw ud duš-dēn kē az parwandīhā [15] [ud] xwarrah ī dēn purr bīm kē [16] im yazdān ham nišānag bandiš[n]ōmand xwēš-kār bawēd [17] a-gumān.

1. Text: sc'
2. Text: Y
3. Emended by ed.; Text: bwndkyh
4. Text: bwndkyh; K35, BK: bwndk'
5. Text: OL-c
6. Thus all mss.; TD: 'mbl
7. J1, J2, H, DF:'šknyhyt'; BK: dhšyt' with dhšk'yhyt' written above
8. Text, K35, BK: ptyyh; TD: otwgyh; DF: ptwgyh'; J1, J2, H: ptwndyh'
9. Text: hwyšn tn'
10. Emended by ed.; text has: 'plyk
11. All MSS. AB- nm'n'
12. DF: OHDWN-ynd
13. Text: sp'; TD, BK: spnd
14. Thus text; TD: '-DYNA-d'lyh; J1, J2, H: 'swt'lyh
15. thus K35; text has: plwnd g's
16. Thus BK, K35; text has: MN
17. Text: YHWWN-t'

(38.26) What is more significant is that Jam, the shining one, the destroyer of Sēj, advised and Spitāmān Zardušt of the good authorities proclaimed 'the *kustīg* is an indication of the service to the *yazdān* and a mark of restraining of sin, and an omen of breaking Sēj, and it should girdle and enclose the middle of the body near to the heart with the religious incantations together with the glorious Avesta.'

(38.27) And perhaps it is indicated from the position of (the kustīg) which divides (the body) equally the manner of the chooser, for it is like a wise man who distinguishes between profit and lost, and between good and evil; in the same way the position of the *kustīg* is between beneath and above (the body).

(38.28) Below the kustīg there is a path through which corruption and also the hidden destruction of life occurs. Above the *kustīg* is the way of thought, speech, action, sight, hearing and the activity of life.

(38.29) And tying the kustīg in accordance with the religious rule is just as a glory among the glories of *yazdān*, for it (i.e. the sacred cord) is itself in the company of the spirit and the heart which is the place of thought and the dwelling of life. On its upwardness are the eye, ear, tongue and brain, which are the abode of sight and hearing, speech, intelligence and memory. On its downwardness is the place of (our) forefathers' reproduction.

(38.30) When *kustīg* which has many signs and tokens of omens, is fastened, it becomes surrounded with the glorious custom of fortunate ones and the manner of wise (ones), and the command of rulers and the decisions of angels.Then the demon Sēj whose movement is clandestine, and who was very afraid of Jam, and the *druz* of +disobedience who dislikes the activities of men (about) the service of Ohrmazd, and the demon and the infidel, become full of fear of the sacred cords and the glory of religion. (So) he who has worn (the girdle which has) the same sign of the *yazdān* is undoubtedly a dutiful (person).

(38.31) az ān ciyōn ēn band ī kustīg xwānīhēd pad mayān tan dārīhēd[1] az yazdān [ī] xwarrah <ī > dādārān [ud] mardōmān xwarrahōmandān ān xwarrah awiš abyōxt ēstēd ī ciyōn bahragīhā ī pad gēhānag hangōšīdag handāzag nimūd ān cihrīgīhā[2] hamist dāmān-iz owōn hu-cihr ud pattāyišnīg sahist. u-šān dil ud kām ud dānišn āhang ēdōn awiš ast ciyōn ān ī wēnābdāg kū jud-iz az weh-dēnān kē kustīg abestāg ī nērangīg bandēnd az hamāg dād ud wurrōyišn jud ōy ī a-band dēnīg ēwēnag dārēnd bērōn-iz ān ī wurrōyišn any gāh hamāg mardōm kamar ayāb kabāh ayāb ham-band pad kustīg dārēnd. ud dāštan [ī] hu-cihr abāyišnīg ō kār sāzišnīg sahist paydāgīg.

(38.32) bē spās ōy xwēš kē kāmag rāstīh ud urwāzišn ī wehīh ud daxšag ī yazdān bandagīh ud nišān [ī] dēn framān-barišnīh[3] ī pāšomān rāy frārōn nērangīhā bandēd abērtar ān ī ka abestāg-iz ī āstawānīh[ā] gōwēd.

PURSIŠN 39

(39.1) 39-om pursišn[4] ān ī pursīd kū cē ēwēnag xūbīh ud nē xūbīh [ī] kustīg pērāhan šāyēd wināh ī wišād-dwārišnīh ud yašt kardag yašt nē kardag [ud] cim ī *māwāg[5] cē ast.

(39.2) pāsox ēd kū niyābag ast pad drust spēd ī pāk ī ēw-tāg ī ēw-kard ciyōn wahman-iz ēdōn ēk dām ī fradom pas az ān ī wastarag ī xwānīhēd ān ī andartom ud nihān pad dēn. parwandīh ī drust ī dō-tāg ī dō-tōf ī ciyōn ān-iz ī dō-tōf ī dēnīg xrad [ī] parwandīhēd[6] āgāhīhān kārān xwad ast dō bazišn[7] ī xwānīhēd āsnīg ud gōšōsrū[d]īg. pas[8] mard pad parwandišn pad bastan[9] wināh<īh> daxšag ī bastag tan az wināh *wizārēnīd[10] ēstēd.

(39.3) ka wišādag ayāb brahnag ayāb pad jāmag [ī] dō-tōf rawēd ēg-iš wišād-dwārišnīh andar bun *ast.[11]

1. Thus text; DF: YHSN'-yt'
2. J2, DF: ZK-c k'lykyh'; J1, H: ZK-c k'lykyh'y
3. BK, K35: lbšn'yh; J1, J2, H, DF: lbšnyh
4. Thus H, DF; Text: pwrsšn' p'sxw'
5. Text: mdy'n'; ed. has emended to: md'n'y (?)
6. Emended by ed.; Text: PWN lwngyhyt'
7. Text: bwcšn'
8. Thus DF; Text, others: AHL MN
9. Text: ASLWN-ty
10. Text, TD: wcylynyt'; others: wcylynytn'
11. Text: LOYT

(38.31) For, since the glory of the *yazdān* who bestow glory and of men who possess glory is joined to this belt which is called *kustīg* and is worn in the middle of the body; and since each part of the world are examples and samples (of those glories), naturally all the creatures seem so beautiful and endurable (i.e. because they are bestowed glory). And they like it (i.e.the sacred cord) with their hearts, desires and knowledge, since it is manifest that apart from those of the Good Religion who tie the *kustīg* with the Avestan formula, and with all customs and beliefs, and except those who have no belt (but) have religious beliefs, even all the people in other places, who have no (religious) beliefs, have a belt or garment or similar cords for a *kustīg*. And it is certainly suitable to wear a (belt) which seems comfortable for work.

(38.32) But thanks to that person who for the sake of the desire of truth and the rejoicing of goodness and the token of service to the *yazdān* and the sign of religion and the obeying the excellent (ones) ties the righteous (cord) with the (religious) incantation, and more (thanks) when he recites the Avesta faithfully.

QUESTION 39

(39.1) The thirty-ninth question: what kind of good and bad can there be in the *kustīg* and shirt, (what) is the sin of going about open (i.e. without *kustīg* or *šabīg*), and what is performing the *yašt* and not performing the *yašt*, and what is the reason for mumbling?

(39.2) The reply is this: (the sacred shirt) is required to be completely white, clean, single, of one peace just as Wahman was the single first creation, after +whom the garment is called 'the most interior and concealed' in the religion. The proper girdle is of two folds and double layered, which is like the double layer of the wisdom of the religion which encloses the works of knowledge themselves, (which) are (in) two parts which are called 'innate' and 'acquired' (wisdom). So a man by girdling (his body) is a signification of binding sinfulness, that is interpreted as the body girdled from sin.

(39.3) If one walks open (i.e. without kustīg) or naked (i.e. without sacred shirt) or with a garment of two layers (i.e. not single), then the sin of 'running open' +is in his acount.

(39.4) bē pad srōd gāhān [1] andar xwarišn wāz nē šāyēd.

(39.5) cim ī *māwāg [2] ēn kū mardōm arzānīgīh ī pad xwarišn az yazdān paristišnīhā ud yazdān stāyišnīh[ā] u-šān xward-iz ī xwarišn niyābag spāsdārīh [3] u-šān stāyīdārīh pad im rāh rāst-ēwēnīhā framūd ēstēd.

(39.6) pēš az xwarišn ka dahān pad xwarišn nē ālūd pad ān ī abēzag stāyišnīh gōwišn yazdān rawēd [4] [ī] ast pad ān xwarišn *arzānīgīhistan.[5]

(39.7) ā-š [6] xwarišn xward dahān pad dandān-*frašn [7] ud āb pāk kardan.

(39.8) pas az xwarišn pēš az har(w) saxwan ī pad dahān ī šust ud pāk spāsdārīh ī yazdān stāyēd.

(39.9) andarag stāyīdārīh pēš xwarišn andarag pas stāyišnīh any saxwan nē [8] guftan.

(39.10) ka andar xwarišn-ē pad dahān saxwan gōwīhēd ān ēwēnag stāyišn ī pēš ud pas az xwarišn ēwēn guftan az xwēš handām burd bawēd.

(39.11) har(w) handām ēk ēk kār pad dahān dō kār ī mādayān abar paywastag ī ast guftan [ud] xwardan ciyōn āgenēn ham-padīrag.

(39.12) cē guftārīh ān ī andarīg xwēšišn ō bērōn-iz āgāhīh [9] paywandēnēd. pad xwardārīh ān ī bērōnīg xwarišn ō andarōn freh zīwišn ī gyān rasēd.

(39.13) ciyōn pēšēnīgān guft kū ēk kār be ō dō kārīgar framūd cimīgtar kū dō kār.

(39.14) andar xwardārīh az guftārīh ud andar guftārīh az xwardārīh haspīn dād. ān dō kār ēk az did wizīdag dāštan ēwēn.

1- Text: g'h'n'n
2- Text: mdy'nk; DF: mdy'ny; cf. above n. 2
3- Text: yp'lyh; emended by ed.
4- Thus Text; ed. has emended to: SGYTWN-ynytn' (?)
5- Text: 'lc'nyk'yhstn'yh
6- Text: 'h
7- Text: plyš
8- Emended by ed.; text: l'd
9- Emended by ed.; Text: 'g'yh'

(39.4) Moreover (lit. but), it is not necessary to say the grace in +srōd gāhān during a meal.

(39.5) The reason for murmuring is this, that men should worship the yazdān and praise the *yazdān* for being entitled to have food; and they need also to pay gratitude properly (after) having the meal; (so) their praising is ordered in this way and (in accordance with) true customs.

(39.6) Before eating, when the mouth is not (yet) defiled by eating, it should recite the pure praise of the *yazdān*, which is due to being worthy of that food.

(39.7) After having a meal, he should clean (his) mouth with the tooth-brush and water.

(39.8) After eating, before saying any word, the praise of the yazdān should be uttered with a clean mouth.

(39.9) One is not to say other words during the praise before the meal, and during the praise after the (meal).

(39.10) If he says a word while having food in his mouth, the benefit of that praise, the utterance of which is a custom before and after a meal, is taken from his bodily organs (lit. limbs).

(39.11) Each of the part of the body has a function; there are two important functions connected with the mouth which are talking and eating, (so) they should not come together.

(39.12) For, the speech joins that which is an internal possession with the outside for information, and through eating the external food reaches to the inside of (the body) for prolonging life.

(39.13) As the ancients have said that it is more reasonable to delegate two workmen with one job rather than (one workman with) two jobs.

(39.14) One should rest at the time of eating from talking and at the time of talking from eating, and it is proper to keep those two works separate one from the other.

(39.15) ka dahān pad xwardārīh ēstēd tā dahān az xwarišn pāk bawēd ān ī yazdān [1] spāsdārīh yazdān-stāyišnīh guftan xāmōšīh framūd ēstēd.

(39.16) ud ān saxwan [2] [ī] *māwāg [3] andar wēnīg gōwēd *māwāg[4] xwānīhēd [ud] cārag-ē ī andar āgāhdārīh ast.

(39.17) [ud] ān āgāhdārīh pādīrān nē dāštan rāy. bē ka ēdōn gōwēd ī andar ān mayān-ē gōwišnīh dahān hambun-iz abar nē dārēd cīš-iz pad uzwān nē gōwēd ēg-iš ān dēnīg stāyišn ī pēš ud pas az xwarišn ēwēnag guft az xwēš sāmān [ud] wimand burd ēstēd u-š az sāmān [ud] wimand xwēš be burd bawēd.

PURSIŠN 40

(40.1) 40-om pursišn [5] ān ī pursīd kū awēšān [6] kē-šān dād ēd kū pad dēn ī māzdēsnān āstawānīh nē abāyēd būd ēn pad dād be gōwīhēd [7] dēn ī māzdēsnān be hilēd dēn abāz stāyēd [ud] bē ō an-ērīh šawēd! ēg-iš cē ēwēn u-š wināh cē u-š wināh ī ham-dēnīh [8] [ī] an-ēr abar ōh šawēd ayāb ciyōn bawēd [ud] *nakkīrāyīh [9] ī az ēn wināh ciyōn ast ēg-imān rōšnīhā awiš framāyēd guft.

(40.2) pāsox ēd kū purnāy dēn ī weh be hišt rāy marg-arzān. dād ī an-ērīh-iz grift rāy marg-arzān. ī-š andar ēstišn pad ān ī abārōn dād wināh-iz ī awēšān pad dād dārēnd [ud] warzēnd ud pad ham-dādīh rāy abāg-išān ham-wināh.[10]

(40.3) ka-z kas pad ān rāh ud kām ī ōy ham-panāhīh ī ōy hangōšīdag *srāyišnīh [11] ī ōy dād ī weh hilēd ān ī wattar gīrēd pad-iz ān abārōnīh ham-wināh.

(40.4) ka a-petītīgīhā a-pašēmānīhā andar ān ī abārōn-dādīh frōd mīrēd ēg-iš ruwān gāh andar ān ī wattom axwān u-š pādifrāh ān ī was marg-arzānān u-š az dēwān garānīhā dast pad dast rasēd

1- Thus text; TD, BK: ZY-š'n
2- Text: M<W>RYA-b; emended by ed. to MRYA-y
3- Text, J1, H: mdy'n'y; DF: mdy'ny; cf. above n. 10
4- Text, J1, H: mdy'n'y; DF: mdy'ny; cf. above n. 5
5- Text: pwrsšn' p'sxw'
6- J2, H, DF: OLE d'n'
7- DF: YMWR[R]WN-yt
8- Text, TD: 'mdyn'n'; BK adds: Y; J1, J2, H, DF: 'mdyn 'nd
9- Text: nkl'yyh; DF: nylyh
10- Text: 'mwnn'h; J1, J2, H, DF: 'mwn'h
11- Text: gylšnyh; emended by ed. to: nkylšnyh; J1: wslyšnyh; H: slsšnyh

(39.15) When the mouth is engaged in eating, silence is ordered (with regard to) saying thanks and praise to the *yazdān* until the mouth is clean of food.

(39.16) And (because) mumbling is uttered through the nose, it is called 'mumbling', and it is a means of communication (lit. holding knowledge)

(39.17) and it is for the sake of having no restraint to that (act of) communicating. Except when one speaks thus, i. e. which is that (the murmurer) should never open his mouth, and he must not say anything with the tongue during murmuring, +otherwise the religious praising which is uttered before and after eating as a custom, is taken away from its own boundary and limitation (i.e. no longer efficacious) and it will be taken away from its own boundary and limitation.

QUESTION 40

(40.1) The fortieth question which you asked: those whose judgment is this, that one should not believe in the Mazdean religion, in (whose) judgment it is said that (one) should leave the Mazdean religion, and repudiate the religion and follow a non-Iranian faith; then how is it, and what is their sin? And what is the sin of him who goes over to a non-Iranian religion? Or how is it? And how can one +repudiate this sin? then, please tell us clearly about it.

(40.2) The answer is this, that an adult deserves death for leaving the Good Religion, he deserves death for accepting a non-Iranian religion; (as for) his belonging to a wrong religion, he also (shares) in the sin which they believe in or do in (their) religion, and on account of having the same religion he is equally sinful with them.

(40.3) And also if someone with the intention and wish of (obtaining) joint security and equal protection with (those of the evil religion) leaves the Good Religion and accepts the evil, he is also equally sinful because of that evil religion.

(40.4) If he dies in that wrong religion without doing penance or repentance, then the place of his soul is in the worst existence (i.e. hell) and his punishment is that of those marg-arzān (i.e. those who deserve death); and

dard ud sējišn ud jōyišn [1] ud was ēwēnag gand ud gazišn darrišn ud kirrēnišn [2] hamist anāgīh ud dušxwāragīh u-š pad awēšān dād [ud] wurrōyišn andar ān ī wattom axwān anāgīh ast [3] tā ān ī abdom axwān wardišn ka fraš(a)gird pad kāmag andar axwān dahīhed.

(40.5) bē agar-iš [4] andar zīndagīh az ān ī grāy petīt bawēd awēšān kē-š ō ān ī duš-dādīh frēbēnīd ō weh-dādīh hāzēnēd ān ī-š abārōnīhā pad dād nihād az rawāgīh kanēd [ud] rawāg wināhīhā abāz bandēd cē raft abāz wirāyēd [ud] nōg pad dēn ī māzdēsnān menišnīg abar ēstišnīg āstawān bawēd wināh ī-š rawāgēnīd bandēnēd [5] [ud] pad xīr ud ranj ud tuwān kār-framān tōzēd ēd cē pad tan pad sedōš pādifrāh widārēd ēg āmurzišn windēd u-š ruwān bōzīhēd.

(40.6) ciyōn guft pad xwābarīh [6] dād ī yazdān kū: weh-dēn ī yazdān māzdēsnān abarīgān pad tōzišn brēhēnīd kū wināh ī spayēiti [7] pad-iš nē bawēd ā-š tōzišn az dēn paydāg.

(40.7) pad ham-gugāyīh guft kū: pōryōtkēš hamāg pad ēn ham-dādestān be būd hēnd kū az weh-dēnīh be petītīgīhā <be> rāh be ō dušox nēst.

(40.8) bē ān petitīgīh andar zīndagīh bawēd cē guft ēstēd kū: kē zīndag nē bawēd ahlaw kū wināh be nē wizārēd ā-š murd nē baxšānd ān pāšom axwān.

(40.9) wināh nē kard [8] weh az tōzišn [ud] petītīgīh.

1. Text: jwtn-yh
2. Text: dlynšn'
3. Thus DF; Text has: ’ytwn'
4. Emended by ed.; Text: ’ytwyh; J1: d’tyh
5. TD: BOYHWN-yt
6. Thus Text, TD; BK: ’w’plyk
7. See pahl.vd. 3.42 (151sp.)
8. Thus TD, Text; others: krtn'

from the demons will come to him grievously and successively pain and trouble and devouring and many kinds of stench, and biting and tearing and producing of all evil and discomforts; and because of their (wrong) religion and faith his suffering in that worst existence is thus until the final change of the world when the successful renovation is given to the world.

(40.5) But if he renounces that +tendency (i.e. to the bad religion) during his lifetime, and converts those whom he has deceived from that evil religion to the Good Religion, and uproots that which he has promoted improperly in the law (i.e. as a heresy), and prevents the sins from advancing, and rearranges whatever has advanced, and becomes thoughtful, firm and confessing to the Mazdean religion anew, and obstructs the sins which he has promoted, and atones for (them) by money (i.e. payment) or physical penance (lit. suffering) (under supervision) of an able authority, since he undergoes bodily punishment in the *Sedōš* (i.e. fourth day after death), then he acquires forgiveness and his soul is saved.

(40.6) As it is said in the beneficent law of the *yazdān*, the Good Religion of the *yazdān* (and) the superiors of the Mazdeans has decreed the atonement so that the sin which is spayēiti (atoned) does not apply to him and its atonement is clear from the religion.

(40.7) As a confirmation it is said that all the original teachers of the faith were of the same opinion about this, (namely) that through the Good Religion by means of penance there is no way to hell.

(40.8) But that penance should be during one's lifetime, because it is said that 'whoever does not become righteous when living, that is, does not atone (his) sins, when he is dead, he will not be granted heaven'.

(40.9) To commit no sin is better than atonement and penance.

COMMENTARY

GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
conj.	conjunction
def. vb.	defective verb (fe'l i nāghes)
dem. pron.	demonstrative pronoun
denom.	denominative
h.	heading
indef. pron.	indefinite pronoun
intrans	intransitive
interrog.	interrogative
interrog. pron.	interrogative pronoun
n.	noun
num.	numeral
pers. pron.	personal pronoun
present part.	present participle
pl.	plural
proper n.	proper noun
prep.	preposition
prevb	preverb
sg.	singular
trans.	transitive
vb.	verb
v. n.	verbal noun

HEADING

juwānjamān [ywb̲'n'ym'n] 'Juwānjamān': MacKenzie 1984, 383 explains the underlying name as *Juwān-jam* 'the young Jamshed' rather than *Gušn-jam* 'the male Jamshed'; see also Boyce 1979, 153.

wizārēnīd [wc'lynyt'] 'explained': the MS reading *gwc'lynyt'* implies the NP form *guzār-*.

INTRODUCTION

The introduction to *Dd.* was transcribed and translated by Kreyenbroek 1995, 171-176. I am indebted to him for his scholarly treatment of the text.

Int.1- *xrad* ['lt'] 'wisdom': for discussion of *xrad*, which has a prominent role in Zoroastrian thought, see Shaked 1979, 229 note 2.4; see also *Dd.*1.2; 36.47, 62.

Int.5- *druz* [dlwc] For the full etymology and discussion of the feminine noun *druj- / druz* 'lie; error, deceit', defining the concept opposed to that of *aša-* 'truth; order, justice' see Kellens 1996, 562-3.

ham-spāh [hmsp'h] 'fellow soldier': Kreyenbroek ibid.; 'united, as a united force' cf. MacKenzie 1984, 158.

ān ī pāšom axwān 'that of the best existence' = 'the best existence': This construction seems to be characteristic of the author's style; cf. e.g. *Dd.*Int.22; 13.3; 11.1 *ān ī kirbag*.

Int.6- *mādayān* [m'tgd'n'] 'essential, the main thing; book': on this word see Shaked 1979, 232, note 8.1.

Int.7- *mowmard* [mgw-GBRA] seems to be a fully-trained priest as compared to *hāwišt* who is a 'priestly student'; on this word see Bailey 1933-35a, 279 and Kreyenbroek 1987a, 189, 196. On the Zoroastrian priesthood, particularly during the ninth century, see Kreyenbroek 1987b, 151-166. See also Kreyenbroek 1994, 1-15.

Int.11- **frāzīg* [pr'cyk'] 'foremost, eminent, chief': derived from *frāz* (?); cf. Dd. 31.9; 43.15.

dēn-pēšōbāy [dyn' pyš(')wp'd] 'leader of the religion': for two different explanations of this word see Bailey 1971, XXXVII-XXXIX, and MacKenzie 1967, 130-136.

tāyag [t'yk] 'capability, ability': from *tāy-*, *tāyīdan* 'to be capable, to suffice' (for which see Nyberg 1974, 193; *Loq.*Vol. 47, p. 250). Anklesaria emends to *t'kyh*. The phrase *pāyag ud tāyag*

'position and ability' occurs again in *Dd*.30.2. The rhyme is no doubt deliberate.

Int.15- *dōl* [dwl] 'Dōl': is the name of a sign of the zodiac (Aquarius). In *ŠnŠ* XXI.1-2 it is used to measure the length of a shadow at midday: *nišān ī sāyag ī nēm-rōz nibēsēm farrox bawād! xwaršēd pad ... 15-om ī dōl hašt pāy ud nēm* 'I write of the indication of the midday; may it be auspicious. (When) the sun (is) ... at the 15th of Aquarius, (the shadow is) eight and half feet'. In *Gr.Bd*.Va, 1-2 Dōl corresponds to Tīr when Ahriman makes an attack on the creation of Ohrmazd; see Anklesaria, B.T. 1956, 60. Cf. *Dd*.30.13 where the sun is in the constellation of *Gāw* 'Taurus'. Here Dōl seems to be used in order to indicate the time in the month Tīr when the writer has received the letter. Another possibility is to read the word *dūr* in the sense 'late' (cf. *Loq*.Vol. 188, p. 347) and translate the phrase 'near the end of the month ...'. Cf. also Kreyenbroek 1995, 175, note 50 who proposes to read *dawr* 'time' as an Arabic loan word.

šāhīgān [š'hyk'n'] 'royal treasury': literally 'kingly'; cf. NP *šāygān*. CPD, 79 gives the translation 'palace', which is a specialization of this basic meaning. For the etymology of this word see Bailey 1971, 231.

Int.23- *nihādag* [nyd'tk'] 'foundation': on this technical term see Dhabhar 1955, 132.

PURSIŠN 1

This chapter was translated first by Kanga 1964a and later on by Molé in 1963.

1.1- *fradom ān ī pursīd kū:* lit. 'first [is] that which [you] asked'.

mard ī ahlaw: the 'righteous man' is here typified by three personalities who are placed at the beginning, middle and end of human existence. They are *Gayōmart*, *Zardušt* and *Sōšāns*. See Molé 1963, 469.

dēn [dyn'] 'religion, Avesta and Zand': here seems to refer to the Avesta and Zand. The same meaning can be found in various Pahlavi texts (e.g. *DkM* 7.44).

meh ud weh az dahišn: likewise man is called *sālār ī dāmān* in *Dd*.36.15, cf. also *ŠGV* 1.6: *u-š dād mardōm pad sardārīh ī dāmān ō kām rawāgīh.*

1.2- *wizēngarīh* [wcynklyh] 'discrimination, recognition': seems to be a function of *xrad*; cf. *DkM* 485.5: *xrad kār ēd: wizēnīdārīh kardan ud weh az wad šnāxtan, ān ī weh griftan, ān ī wattar hištan* 'the function of wisdom is to discriminate and to know good from bad, to grasp the good and to avoid the bad'. See also *Dd*.36.19: *ān ī wizīngar xrad ...*

hunar ī rāstīh weh 'the ability to be right is best': cf. *Pahl.Riv*.10.1: 'Zoroaster asked Ohrmazd: "Which (is) the one virtue that is best for mankind?" Ohrmazd said: "Truthful speech (is) best"'. For more discussion of *rāstīh* see *MX* 3.6; *Sd.N*. ch. 62; *Sd.Bd*. ch. 70.1-3; 74.20-22; *Dēnkard* VI.22.

ham-band 'connected': for the relation between wisdom and virtue see *MX* 10.5: *ud hunar kē-š xrad nē abāg, pad hunar nē dārišn* 'and virtue that has no wisdom with it is not to be considered as virtue'.

zēn [zyn'] 'weapon, means': can alternatively be read *dēn*, cf. *MX* Intr.39: *cē yazdān dēn rāstīh ud dād frārōnīh* 'since the religion of the *yazdān* is truth and their law is honesty'.

1.3- Cf. Shaked 1971, 88, where he gives the translation of this paragraph slightly different.

paymōgīh [ptmwgyh] 'being clad': likewise the body is compared to a garment in *Dd*.30.5; 36.25. For a comprehensive discussion of *paymōg* see Bailey 1971, 112.

1.5- *ōšīh* ['wšyh] 'destruction': cf. *a-ōšīh* in Shaked 1979, 134, note B5. It can alternatively be read *a-wehīh* ['wyhyh].

fraš(a)gird-kardārīh [plškrt'-krt'lyh]: 'making of the renovation'; cf. para. 8; *Dd*.35.1.

xwēšīg [hwyšyk'] 'one's own': see Gignoux and Tafazzoli 1993, 145, note 16.

spās [sp's] 'thanks, service': cf. *Dd*.36.15 *kard-spāsān ahlawān* 'the righteous who have fulfilled their service'; the meaning 'reward' has also been suggested for *spās* by Shaked 1979, 235, note 13.6.

nigāh-dāštār [nk's-d'št'l] 'guardian, watchman': cf. Williams 1990, II.219, where he quotes a passage from *Dk* VII.1.16 and takes the similar word *nigāhdār* to mean 'watchman'.

1.6- For the traditional doctrine, which places the prophet Zoroaster in the middle of the history of the world, and its relation to *Insān al-kāmil* see De Menasce 1975, 546.

1.7- Cf. DkM III.29: *fradom dēn padīriftār ī az dādār gayōmart būd.* 'Gayōmart was the first to accept the religion from the Creator'; for a discussion of Gayōmart see Christensen 1917, I.7-105; 109-112; 124-130; 149-155; 158-163.

1.8- It is said in *MX* 26.14, 17 that the renovators were produced from the body of Gayōmart; see *WZ* 2.10; cf. also Williams 1985, 683 ff.

hōšang [hwš'ng]: Hōšang of the Pēšdād dynasty in *Yt*.5.22 presents several sacrifices to Anāhītā wishing to kill two thirds of the gigantic demons of Māzan. He is mentioned also in *Yt*.19.26; 15.7; 17.26, in the Pahlavi books, e.g. *DkM* 594.19; *Dd*.65.5, and in early Islamic sources, e.g. *Tabari*, Vol. I.171. See also Christensen 1917, I.71-73; 76-85; 118-121; 124-130; 192-195; 198-205; II.109-111.

tahmurip [thmwlyt'] 'Tahmurip': <Av. *taxma.urupay-*; as Tafazzoli 1969, 253 has pointed out, when the letter [p] joins to a final stroke it resembles the letter [t]; this has happened to the above word and is the reason for it being mis-read as NP Tahmuraθ. Cf. also Pahl. [hlwst'] for *harwisp CPD*, 220. The name *tahmurip* is also attested in *Dd*.36.26; *Y*.15. 11-12; 17. 24; 19. 28, 29; for the story of Tahmurip and Ahriman see *Pers.Riv*.294-98; *Tabari*, Vol. I.175; Boyce 1975, I.104.

fraš(a)gird-kardārān 'the renovation makers': see *Dd*.35.1, Comm., for more discussion of the making of the renovation and those who arrange the renovation including:

xwarcašm [hwlcšm] 'Xwarcašm': < Av. *Hvarə.caēšman-*; Barth. 1848-49: 'Sonnenlicht bereitend' (?); Mayrhofer 1977, I, 52, no. 180 'Der (der Menschen bzw. den Seelen der Verstorbenen) die Sonne durch religiös-magische Kraft zuweist'; He is one of the Immortals and the ruler of Sawah; cf. *WZ* 35.14; and Boyce 1975, 284.

rōšncašm [lwšncšm] 'Rōšncašm': < Av. *Raocas.caēšman-* cf. *Yt*. 13, 120, 128; *WZ* 35.14; Barth. 1489: 'Licht bereitend' (?); Mayrhofer 1977, I, 73, no. 269 'Der (der Menschen bzw. den Seelen der Verstorbenen) das Licht durch religiös-magische Kraft zuweist'. He is one of the Immortals and the ruler of Arezah; cf. *WZ* 35.14; and Boyce 1975, 284.

1.9- *dēn padīriftār*: cf. *Phl.Riv*.47.2: *u-š dēn-iz haft bār padīrift* 'And he received the (revelation of) religion seven times'. See also *WZ* 34.46 and Williams 1990, II.215, note 3.

1.10- *zāyišn āfur ast* [z'yšn 'pwl AYT]: another possibility is to read the phrase: ...'p<w>l AYT (*... abar ast*) as Molé 1963, 473 has read it.

1.11- *tan kirdār* 'producer of the bodies': cf. *WZ* 34.1 ... *zardušt az ohrmazd pursīd kū tanōmandīhā pad zamīg bē widard-hēnd, pad fraš(a)gird tanōmand abāz bawēnd ayāb giyānīg hōmānīgīhā? (2) ohrmazd <guft> kū: tanōmand abāz bawēnd* ... 'Zardust asked of Ohrmazd: "Will the embodied beings who passed away on earth be again embodied at the renovation or will they be like shadows?" Ohrmazd replied: "they will be embodied again"'.

wht' 'released, freed, separated (?)': this word has been problematic for all editors of this chapter. Molé 1963, 474 emended it to **nihāt*. Kanga 1964a, 99 read *vaxt* and translated it 'ordained', relating it to *baxt*. This word has already been discussed by Zaehner 1937-39d, 899 by whom it is connected to Skt. *bhrasta-* 'straying from'. Alternatively Zaehner has explained the word from the root **vac-*, **vak-* and has taken it to mean 'turn aside, be averse'. In my opinion *waxt* is the past form of a verb *waxtan* 'to release, to separate'; cf. NP *wāxīdan* 'separate, keep away from' in *BQ*, vol. 4, 2244; cf. Sogd. *w'c-, wàγt* 'to release, to send, to let', see Gharib 1995, No. 9792; the word is also attested in *Dd*.3.2, 4; 30.17; and *ŠGV* VI.3; X.66; XVI.102. In *ŠGV* VI.3 the meaning of *waxt* is rather clear: *U han vyāwanī i ēša nēst-Yazat-gōēa, keša Daharī xvānend, ke ež arg i dīnī u ranj i pa kerbaa varzīdan vaxt estend...*' Un autre égarement est celui des athées | qu'on appelle *dahrī*, | qui s'affranchissent de la discipline religieuse et du labeur que comporte l'accomplissement des actes de vertu, ...', see Menasce 1945, 78.

1.12- For the same comparison cf. *WZ* 34.25: *ud did homānāg būd fraš(a)gird kardārīh ō šab ī tār. ka šab ō sar šawēd, xwaršēd [az] se kanārag ī gēhān hanjēd, ud [abāg] abāz ō xwēš giyāg madan wardišn frazāmēnēd. ān nōg pad spīzišn bawēd ud tom ud tār zanēd.* 'And again the performance of the renovation was analogous to a dark night, when the night ends, the sun goes out to the three ends of the world, and having come back to its own place, it completes the revolution, it recurs anew for brightness and smites darkness and gloom'.

frāšm [pl'šm] 'brightness': <Av. *frāšmi-* as Gershevitch 1959, 233 explains, is understood as a derivative of *frāšma-*, meaning 'possessed of glow, glowing'. It is also attested in *Dd*.36.84, 104 in the sense 'brightness'; see also Bailey 1930-32b, 596 and 1971, 42 who remarks '*frašm* is here the first light of the sun before the ball of the sun itself is visible'.

meh rōšnīh 'the great light': there are some implications about the great light at the time of renovation in *Dd*.36.104: *andar ān nēktom zamānag , xwaršēd ud māh rōšnān bawēnd bē nē niyāz ō rōz ud gardišn ud spīzišn ī frāšm, cē gēhān hamāg rōšn ud a-tār ud wispān-iz dāmān rōšn.* 'In that most excellent time there will be sun, moon and luminaries, but there is no need for day and the revolving and

advancing of brilliance, because the whole world will be bright and without darkness, and all the creatures will also be bright'.

PURSIŠN 2

This chapter was transcribed and translated by Molé 1963, 476 ff; and Kanga 1964b, 127-140.

2.1- For the same question cf. Shahrastani, *Livre des Religions et des sectes*, 1, 1986, 649: Zoroastre demanda: 'Pourquoi as-tu créé le monde et propagé la *Dēn*?' Ohrmazd répondit: 'Parce que le Diable criminel ne peut être réduit à néant que par la création du monde / et la propagation de la *Dēn*: si la *Dēn* ne s'était pas développée, le monde ne se serait pas développé'. Also cf. *ŠnŠ* II.11: *ēn-iz kū baxt-āfrīd guft kū har(w) dahišn-ē ohrmazd [ō] hamēstārīh ī ēk petyārag ... dād ēstēd* 'This also, that Baxt-Āfrīd has said that every single creation of Ohrmazd is created to withstand a single assault ...'. It is also said in *Dēnkard* VI.135 that: *u-šān ēn-ez āōn dāšt kū ohrmazd ī xwadāy har(w) dām ēn-ez 2 sūd rāy dād, ēbgad pad-eš absihēnīdan ud gugāhīh ī xwēš rāy*. 'They held this too: Ohrmazd the lord created every creature for these two benefits: to destroy the adversary by them, and (for them) to serve as His witnesses'.

2.3- *rawāgēnīd* [lwbʾkynyt] 'propagate, set in motion': as a short infinitive. It seems that this kind of infinitive is quite common in our text. Cf. *Dd*.4.2.

2.5- **spurr* [spwl] 'perfect, entire': from OIr **us-pr̥na-* cf. *əspurr, uspurr;* MMP *ʾspwr* . Cf. Nyberg 1974, II.178; *CPD*, 85. Text gives [wspwl]; Molé emends this to <*ud*> *spurr*; and Kanga: *vispurr* (?).

2.7- *wizīrīhist* [wcylyhstʾ] 'decided': from *wizīrīhistan / wizīristan, wizīr-*, NP *guzīr*.

2.8- See: *ŠGV* VIII.20-24: 'For where there is good, there cannot possibly be evil...similarly with other contraries, the fact that they cannot combine and are mutually destructive is caused by dissimilarity in substance. This substantial dissimilarity and mutual destructiveness is observable in phenomena in the material world.' (Quoted from: Zaehner 1956, 59).

For '*cē ka*' as conj. see Nyberg 1974, II.54.

See Kanga for a different reading; Molé 1963, 476 has left out a part of the sentence.

ānābtagīhā [ʾnʾptkyhʾ] 'dispelling': cf. Shaked 1979, 287 note B14.17.

az ... rāy 'because of': cf. Shaked 1979, 292; cf. also Nyberg, 1974, II.88: 'owing to'.

spurrēnīd / spurrēnīdan; for short infinitives see above note 3.

2.10- *bagīhist* [bkyhystʾ] *bagīh, bāgīh-* 'divide': cf. *ham bagīhist* in *Dd*.13.4. It is a denominative form of *bagīdan* 'to divide', Av. *baga-* ; cf. also *Gr.Bd.* (TD2.149-8).

2.11- Cf. *Dēnkard* VI.23: *hunarāwandīh ēd pahlom kē abāg druz ī mēnōg kōšēd.* 'This possession of virtue is best: one who makes battle against the non-material demons'. A parallel text is also found in *Pahl.Riv*.62-10.

2.12- A discussion of the *paymān* 'pledge' is in Zaehner 1961, 286-7; and 41. See also Shaked 1987.

āzādīh [ʾcʾtyh] 'freedom' can alternatively be read *ābādīh* [ʾpʾtyh] 'prosperity', see for a detailed discussion on Shaked 1974, 217 ff; 239.

abar-ēstišn [QDM-ʾstšnʾ] 'superior existence': cf. *Dēnkard* VI.233, 236.

2.13- Cf. *WZ* 1.26: *se hazār sāl dām tanōmand ud a-frāz-raftār būd. xwaršēd, māh, [ud] starān ēstād hēnd andar bālist a-wizišnīg. (27) pad zamānag sar ohrmazd nigerīd kū cē sūd ast ī az dādan ī dām ka a-pōyišnīg a-rawišnīg [ud] a-wizišnīg. u-š pad ayārīh ī spihr ud zurwān dām frāz brēhēnīd* 'For three thousand years the creatures were in material state and unable to move .The sun, the moon and the stars stood still in the *bālist* (i.e. highest position) without revolution. (27) At the end of the period, Ohrmazd observed: 'what is the advantage of creating the creation if it were unable to run, unable to move, [and] unable to revolve?' and with the help of the celestial sky and time, he created the creation'.

a-wēnišnīg mēnōg ...: cf. Shaked 1971, 63 where he discusses the term *mēnōg*.

nimūnag [nmwnkʾ] 'example': is grounded in the spiritual world, which is its exemplar. See Zaehner 1961, 297.

For *ruwān* as the lord of the body see Bailey 1971, 99 and Shaked 1994, 56. The same statement is also attested in *WZ* 29.7: *ud spāhbed ruwān, ī xwadāy ud rāyēnīdārīh ī tan, kē-š awiš rad ...* 'and the soul, the commander, who is the lord and organiser of the body, who is a chief to him ...'. As to the division of internal powers of man different reports are found in *Dēnkard* III.218, *Gr.Bd*.34.4, *WZ* and other Pahl. texts. These different reports, as Shaked 1994, 57 points out, show

that there were several schools of thought about these questions among the Zoroastrian authorities.

gyān ī zīwēnāg: see Bailey 1971, 99 for the function of *gyān*. Kanga 1964b, 129, note 5 reads: *axv zīvēndak*; Molé 1963, 476 suggests *vaxš zivēnāk*; but the phrase *gyān ī zīwēnāg* occurs again in *Dd.*22.3, 4 with ideogram [HYA].

With reference to *frawahr* and its preserving function see Bailey 1971, ch. 1.

wīr ī ayābāg: cf. *DkM* 485: *wīr kār ēd: cīš xwāstan* 'the work of the memory is to seek things'. See also *DkM* 48.14-17: *wīr nērōg xwāstār ud ayāftār, hōš ōz dāštār ud pādār (?), xrad zōr nigīrīdār wizīngar ud kārīgēnīdār hast ī dānišn* 'The power of *wīr* is to seek and acquire, that of the *hōš* is to maintain and protect, that of the *xrad* is to observe and decide and set knowledge in motion'. Cf. *ŠGV* 5.82: *dānišn ī ayābāg* 'acquisitive knowledge'. Cf. Bailey 1971, 98-102 and Shaked 1974a, 319.

cihr ī xwad bizešk: see *Dd.*22.3 for the same phrase.

**pahrmāyišn* [ptlm'hšn] 'touch': see *WZ* 29.4; 30.25 and Bailey 1971, 102.

**ōmārdan* ['wm'ltn'] 'to feel': the text gives ['wmt'ltn'] (?). Kanga 1964b, 130 reads *hu-matārtan* 'feeling'. Molé 1963, 476 reads: *omatārtar* (?).

dil az mēnīdan: Kanga has corrected this to *sar az mēnīdan*, which does not seem to be necessary since in Persian one aspect of '*dil*' is thinking as in:

cašm ī dil bāz kun ke jān bīnī vān ce nādīdanīst ān bīnī. 'Open the eyes of your heart so that you may see the soul, so that you may see whatever is invisible!' (Hatef, p. 27). See also Williams 1990, II.122, who quotes from *Y.*31.12: 'The heart is the seat of thought'. The similar expression *cašm ī jān* is also well attested in classical Persian literature and is discussed by several scholars e.g. Widengren 1955, II.68; 1965, 70; 1983, 103 f. Gnoli 1979, 414; 1984, 215 f. Shaked 1994, 46.

waxšišn [ī] xōn pōyīdan [whššn' Y hwn' pwy-tn'] 'the increase of the flow of the blood (?)': alternatively it is possible to read: *waxšišn hu-pušt* 'proper support of life' (?); this part seems to be corrupted by different scribes and I am not entirely happy with my reading. Molé 1963, 478 reads **vaxšišn xūp xvāstan* 'et maintient la croissance'.

ēd kē: cf. *ēd ka Dd.*12.3; 14.3; see Comm. 14.3.

ō tan abzārān: Kanga reads *hu-tan abzārān:* 'the instruments of the good body'; Molé suggests *xwad abzārān*, see ibid. We have also in *DkM* 50.8 *gyānīg ud tanīg abzār.*

rāst bowandagīh [l'st bwndkyh] 'proper boundary': it is also possible to read *rāst *bandagīh* 'true service' as Kanga suggests.

2.14- *ābādīh:* see above note 12.

2.15- *wābarīgān* 'trustworthy': cf. Shaked 1979, 225.

**kunīhēd* [OB̲YD[W]N-yhyt']: cf. Molé 1963, 477. Kanga 1964b, 130 reads *griftihēt*. Alternatively, TD's reading *ʾdntyhyt'* may be emended to **ēg-it dahēd* (?) 'then he gives you'.

wahman pad menišn ...: likewise Wahman resided in Zoroaster's thought as is mentioned in *Dēnkard* VI.2.

2.16- *...Wahman pad tan mehmān ēg-iš ēn daxšag ku taftīg bawēd pad kirbag, ud hu-paywand bawēd abāg wehān, ud hugar bawēd pad āštīh, ud nē-angad wehān jādag-gōw, ud xwad rād bawēd* 'A man whose body is inhabited by Wahman - this is his mark. He is ardent as regards good works, has a good relationship with the good, is easy in making peace, is an advocate of the good of the destitute, and is himself generous'. *Dēnkard* VI.78; a collection of other related passages is in Widengren 1945, 46 f.

... kē Srōš pad tan mehmān ēg-iš daxšag ēn kū andar harw gāh saxwan abāg šāyēd guftan, ud ka gōwēnd ōh niyōšēd, ud ka āhōg abāz gōwēnd padīrēd ud wirāyēd. kasān rāy drōg ne gōwēd, ud hān ī abē-wināh ne zanēd, ud hān ī winābgār pad paymān zanēd 'A man whose body is inhabited by Srōš - this is his mark. It is always possible to talk to him; when people talk he listens, when they report a fault [which he has] he accepts and disciplines it. He does not tell lies to people, and does not chastise an innocent person, and he chastises a transgressor appropriately'. *Dēnkard* VI.28-9. Cf. also Kreyenbroek 1985, 129.

Cf. Williams 1990, II.219 note 18 for a different translation of this part as follows: 'the presence of *Srōš* in words is (the result) of him who is aware (i.e. the priest?) being a true speaker and of him who is unaware (i.e. layman?) being a listener to righteous high priests'.

2.18- cf. Shaked 1994, 66 for a different translation.

waxšīdan, waxš- 'to grow': cf. *Dd.*9.2; 36.62.

2.19- *hāzāngar* [h'c'nkl] 'inciting': is read *āxizāngar* by Kanga 1964b, 130 and is emended to *viyābāngar* by him.

pahrēzīhīdār [p'hlycyhyt'l] 'avoider': on this word see Bailey 1935, 762 and Henning 1936, 579.

PURSIŠN 3

This chapter was translated by Molé 1963, 479.

3.2- *šnāyišn* [šn'dšn'] 'propitiation': cf. *Dēnkard* VI, p. 260 note 97.1.

wht (?) 'separate, away' cf. *Dd*.1.11.

3.3- *kat* [kt] 'willing, desirous': cf. Av. *katay-* 'id.'.

dēn-burdār 'responsible for the religion': cf. Kreyenbroek 1987a, 187.

3.4- *wht'* 'separated': cf. *Dd*.1.11; 3.2; 30.17; however here a possible alternative would be to regard the word as **nihād*; cf. *Dd*.64, in: Anklesaria 1958, 127 where this word has been emended by Henning to *nihād*.

PURSIŠN 4

4.1- Cf. Boyce 1987, 154, who has discussed the difficulties and struggles of the Zoroastrian community in the ninth century.

4.4- **wišayg* [wšyk'] 'fear, anxiety': cf. MMP *wšyg*; it is attested in *Dd*.23.2; *WZ* 10.2; *AWN* 1.3. The word is apparently from **wi-šadika-* (as / *payg* / **padika-* 'footman'); cf. Skt. *vi-ṣad, -ṣīdati* 'be despondent, despair' (see MacKenzie 1984, 157 and *WZ* , p. 159).

PURSIŠN 5

5.1- Cf. Shaked 1971, 73, where he points out the answer which is given to this question. According to *DkM* 572 f. anyone can receive reward or punishment either in *gētīg* (this world) or *mēnōg* the (other world).

5.2- **wad-zamānīh* [SLYA zm'nyh] 'evil time': Text gives *slwš* for *SLY'*; cf. Bailey 1971, 195 who gives the short text of 'The hope of deliverance by Varhrān ī varcāvand' to express the feeling of *wad-zamānīh* 'evil times'. See also *Pahl.T*.160; *Gr.Bd*.I.25; *ZWY* 4.

5.4- *be* [BRA] here stands for pad, implying the NP development *pad* >*pa* >*be*. cf. also *Dd*.6.2; 16.5; 32.3; 40.7. Cf. also *AWN* 2.7.

5.5- Cf. *ZWY* 4.67-68: '... for the hope of the final body <and> for the salvation of one's own soul, they (i.e. Zoroastrians) must take upon <themselves and> bear the tribute, the harm, <and> the evil caused by those of different religion and dēw-worshippers. And this also I tell you, Spitāmān Zarduxšt, he who, in that period, will covet the body, will not be able to save the soul ...' (Cereti 1995, 158).

5.6- *xwārīh*: see Bailey 1971, 15.

5.7- **padisārīg* [pt[y]s'lyk] 'conclusion': since *sar* means both 'beginning' and 'end', its derivative *padisār* can presumably have

both meanings too; it is also attested in *WZ* 3.1; 22.9 in the meaning 'en succession, l'un après l'autre'; cf. also *CPD*, 63; Nyberg 1974, II.156 and Tafazzoli 1995, 301.

zamānīg [zm'nyk] 'temporary': is also attested in *Dd*.12.4, 5; *DkM* 85.21; 355.22; 401.20; *REA* 21.4; 41.9; *WZ* 4.2; in *CPD*, 98 only the meaning 'prescribed' is given.

PURSIŠN 6

This chapter was translated and transcribed by Molé, 1963, 421.

6.2- Cf. *Dd*.2.9.

6.4- *ciyōn man* 'in my image': cf. with *Gr.Bd*.XXVIII.4: *ruwān ciyōn ohrmazd ud ōš ud wīr ud mārišn ud andōšišn ud dānišn ud uzwānišn ciyōn ān šaš amahraspand ī pēš ī ohrmazd ēstēd* 'the soul is like Ohrmazd; intelligence, memory, sensation, thought, knowledge and distinction are like the six *amahraspands* who stand in front of Ohrmazd'. Man is the material equivalent of Ohrmazd in the world; see Gershevitch 1959, 10-12; Shaked 1994, 52-70. The author of *Pahl.Riv.* in chapter 46 goes further and declares that Ohrmazd created the creation from his own body, on which see Williams 1985, 683 and 1990, II.212. This idea (i.e. the sameness of man and God) may have influenced Islamic Iranian mysticism.

xwadāyīh-iz āyēd: the sovereignty comes (into being) also; there are several passages in Pahl. texts implying that the existence of creation is incomplete without man.

6.5- Cf. Kanga 1964b, 138.

drust-wimandīhā...: cf. *Dd*.2.13 for discussion of a similar point.

6.8- See Dd.2.15, 18.

See also Shaked 1994, 66 ff. where he compares the righteous man e.g. Zoroaster to Ohrmazd.

PURSIŠN 7

7.1- Cf. *Dd*.8.3, Comm.

šab ī sidīgar: is also attested in *ŠnŠ* VIII.5 as *se-šabag*.

tarāzūg [tl'cwk'] 'balance, scales' here is translated as 'judgement': cf. *AWN* 10.12.

7.2- *framūdan* in the technical sense 'to commission': is attested frequently in *Dd*., e.g. *Dd*. 8.1, 2; 43.2; 81.1; 82.2; 87.6. As pointed out by Kreyenbroek 1987a, 188, it was customary for the layman to 'commission' an acceptor *(padīriftār)* to perform a ritual on his behalf.

bun kardan [bwn' krtn'] 'to bequeath, to authorise' is discussed by Zaehner 1937-39c, 584; Nyberg 1974, 50; cf. *Dd*.7.5; *DkM* 183.14; 184.12; *Pahl.T.* p. 46. See also *bun kardār* 'founder' Dd.7.5.

u-š nē pad jād būd 'was not (done) by means of his property': *jād* [y't] 'share, portion, property'; cf. Av. *yāta-* 'id.' (Barth. 1283) Sogd. *y't'k* 'meat' (Gharib n° 10908, p. 144). The same idiom is used several times in the following paragraphs.

bun kardār: see above *bun kardan*.

7.4- *sedōš* [stwš] '*Sedōš*, the forth morning after death': see *Dd*.27.1 Comm.

7.6- **anagrān* ['ngl'n] 'endless lights'. The text has ['m'lgl'n] *āmārgarān* (?) 'accountants' which does not make sense with *rōšnīhā*.

See *Dd*.8.3 Comm.

7.7- *ganj* [gnc'] 'treasure' cf. NP *ganja* 'wardrobe, cupboard' see Mo'īn 1982, III.3407.

PURSIŠN 8

8.3- See: *Sd.N.*, ch. 41 'That which they provide in their lifetime is better; and, just as would occur when anyone plants a tree anew, and is eating the fruit of it every year, even so much is that good work increasing every year ... one who has done a duty on his own account, has seen, that the thing itself which others accomplish after his lifetime is very different (West 1885, 304-5).

PURSIŠN 9

9.1- *waxš* [whš] 'merit, interest': is discussed by Barth. 1913, note 1 and Hübschmann 1892, *ZDMG*, 46, p. 329; see Shaked 1979, 307; and *Dd.* 10.1, 2; 11.1, 3, 4. *waxš ī kirbag* 'interest on a good deed': by looking through other Pahl. texts as *Pahl.Riv*.42.4-5 one can assume that the use of commercial terms such as capital and interest in a religious sense was well known in Iran at the author's time.

9.2- *be ābārīhēd* 'is lost, taken away, robbed': or *be āzārīhēd* 'is tormented, damaged'; for different meaning of ābār see Shaked 1979, 250.

See above, note 8.3.

PURSIŠN 10

10.1- See Dd.12.1.

PURSIŠN 11

11.1- A discussion of a similar question is found in *Pahl.Vd.*VII.52, where it is said that 'a good-thought extirpates a wicked-thought; a good-word extirpates a wicked-word; a good-deed extirpates a wicked-deed'.

kandan ī wināh 'to uproot sin': cf. *wizārišn ī wināh* 'to redeem sin'. Both terms are attested in *ŠnŠ* VIII.18; XV.28.

11.2- *pad bun ēstēd* 'is in (his) account': cf. *ŠnŠ* V.1; X.17; XVI.2, 3, 4 and *Phl.Riv*.7.1: ... *ā-š ō bun nēst* 'then it is not in (his) account'; cf. also *Dd*.14.1; *MYF*, p. 4: *ō bun nē bawēd* 'is not in (his) account'. The same phrase occurs in *Dd*.12.3; 23.4; 39.3.

PURSIŠN 12

12.1- *ōgārēnd* 'remove, expel': from <*ōgār-*. Kanga reads hangārēnd 'they account' which also makes good sense.

12.3- *ēd cē* 'whether, whatever': cf. *Dd*.2.13; 14.3.

dēwānōmand [d(p)yw'n'wmnd] 'archive-holder, registrar?': cf. *dēwān* [d(p)yw'n] <**dipi-vahana-* 'document house', Nyberg 1974, 64; see also *CPD*, 26; in Christian usage: 'the recording angels'. Alternatively, one may take this word as haplography for **dānišnōmandān* 'the wise ones'.

a-cafsišn ['cpsšn'] 'free from deviation, impartial, unbiased': from the root *kam- cam-* 'to bend', pres. *cafs-*, *casp-*; cf. NP *cafta* 'bent'; see Tafazzoli 1972, 652.

PURSIŠN 13

13.2- Paragraph 2-3 is translated by Kreyenbroek 1985, 135.

Wahman is said to be responsible for the account of the soul on which see *Y*.48.8; 32.6.

13.3- *wināh ī hamēmālān* 'the sin against the opponents': it appears from *ŠnŠ* VIII.1, 16 that the *hamēmāl* sin is an evil action which affects other people while the *ruwānīg* sin affects only the sinner. It is also said in *Pahl.Riv*.15b5 that 'For (an offence against) opponents a man must make amends, and he should confess to it in (the presence of) the opponent...'. For the names of different sins see *Sd.N.* ch.13. Some sources on the *hamēmāl* sin are: *Pahl.Texts*, *Wāzag-ē cand az ādurpād mārespandān*, para.75; *Sd.N.* ch. 42, p. 33; *Pers.Riv*.210 ff.; Modi 1922, 446-455; Asmussen 1965, 65; 135; Williams 1990, II.151.

ō mihrdrujān kunīhēd 'is attributed to the contract-breakers': lit. 'is made unto the contract-breakers'; cf. Kreyenbroek 1985, 135.

mihrōdruj [mtr' 'w dlwc] 'covenant-breaker': in *Vd.*4.2-10 six kinds of contract are spoken of as follows: 1- Word contract 2- hand contract 3- contract about a small cattle 4- contract about a large cattle 5- contract about men 6- field contract; see *Pers.Riv.*37 in which the duration of the punishment of each kind of contract breaking is mentioned in detailed. See also *Sd.N.* ch. 25.

abar tan ud nāf ...: There is the same statement concerning the sin of contract breakers which affect their relatives in the *Pahl.Riv.* ch. 6 and *Sd.N.* ch.25. Alan Williams 1990, II,124 has pointed out the disagreement between some commentators of Pahlavi books (e.g. *Vd.*) 'on the subject of the sin 'coming upon the children' of the sinner.' See also *Pers.Riv.* I, 53.3.

13.4- *ham-bāgīhist* [hm-bkyhst'] 'equally divided': see *Dd.*2.10; see also Kanga 1964b, p.133, note 2.

13.5- *sedōš*: see *Dd.*27.1 Comm.

The dilemma of the fate of the rigteous or wicked soul after death has been discussed by several scholars e.g. Gignoux 1968; Boyce 1975 and Shaked 1994. According to *Dd.* here and chapters 19, 23, 24, 30, 31, and 36 after having been punished, the wicked will be purified of their sins at the time of resurrection and therefore they will participate of the eternity of being in paradise with the righteous; cf. *Dd.*36.98. While, as Shaked has pointed out, the wicked will be ultimately damned and destroyed for ever according to another Zoroastrian book; cf. *Pers.Riv.*36.4. The former seems to be the genuine original thought of Zoroaster; cf. Boyce 1975, 244. However Shaked 1994, 39 remarks that 'I find it personally difficult to decide whether any of them is original. All we can tell from the material at our disposal, which is of rather late date, is that two conflicting doctrines are presented side by side, without seemingly causing undue tension within the community'. See also *Dd.* Comm. 23.1.

PURSIŠN 14

This chapter was transcribed and translated by Kanga 1970, 219 ff. The subject matter of this chapter is also comparable to *Pahl.Riv.*24.1 and *Dd.*15.2 on which see *Dd.*15.2, Comm.

14.1- *az bun be šawēd* 'it departs from his account': cf. *Dd.* Comm.11.2.

14.2- Cf. Kanga 1970, 224 for a different understanding of the text.

stūrīh [stwlyh] 'guardianship': see Perikhanian 1970, 353 ff; also cf. *Dēnkard* VI.296.

14.3- The repeated *ka* ... *ēd ka* ... clearly means 'whether ... or ... '. Prof. Sims-Williams pointed out to me that perhaps *ē* < *ēd* [HNA] 'this' has been confused in writing with a different *ē* < **ēw* < **ada-vā* 'or' (NP *yā*, cf. MP *ayāb* < **ada-vā-api*). Cf. *Dd.*2.13; 12.3.

14.4- *ēw-tom* ['ywtwm] 'alike, equally': cf. Williams 1990, I.301.

14.5- For several 'precautions to be observed while carrying the corpse to the Daxma' see *Pers.Riv.*118 ff.

14.6- *rawāg-kāmagīh*: is emended to *ruwān-kāmagīh* 'desire for the soul' by Kanga 1970, 222.

PURSIŠN 15

This chapter was transcribed and translated by Kanga 1970, 219 ff.

15.1- See also Shaked 1994, 39 ff. who discusses the different reports of Zoroastrian books about the fate of the soul.

15.2- A similar answer is given to this question in *Pahl.Riv.* 24.1: *ān-iz paydāg kū ruwān ī ahlawān pas az ān ka gyān az tan be šawēd ka *gurg ud rōbāh ud sag ud way brīnēnd ud jōyēnd ruwān ī ahlawān tis-iz ī duš-xwārīh nē bawēd ud ruwān ī druwandān pas az ān ka-šān ruwān az tan be šawēd ka-š gurg ud rōbāh ud sag ud way tan brīnēnd ud jōyēnd dard-ē ud duš-xwārīh-ē ēdōn ōh bawēd kū wāng kunēd* 'This also (is) revealed, that (as for) the souls of the righteous, after the soul departs from the body, when the wolf and fox and dog and bird rend and devour (the body), there is nothing at all of distress for the souls of the righteous. And (as for) the souls of the wicked, after their souls depart from the body, when the wolf and fox and dog and bird rend and devour the body, there is thus such a pain and distress that is [i.e. the soul] cries out'. It is said in *Pers.Riv.*165 that 'When the body of one fit for hell is eaten by the vultures, torture and discomfort reach his soul, but when the body of one fit for heaven is eaten, the soul of it is in comfort'. A parallel reply is also found in *Sd.Bd.* ch. 24.

mārēd, mār- [m'l-] ' feel, perceive, notice': cf. MacKenzie 1971, 54; Kanga 1970, 222 reads *mālēd*; cf. also Shaked 1994, 54.

bōy ī sōhēnāg: see Bailey 1971, 97.

15.4- *wastarag* [wstlg] (?) 'garment': another alternative is perhaps to emend it to **sturg* [stwlg] 'strong(?)'; if the alternative reading is correct the translation should be '... the most interior and secret and

strong instrument of an armoury, along with weapons and armours inside it are widely made inactive and destroyed'.

zay [zydȳ] 'weapon': alternatively it can be read *zarr*, meaning 'gold'.

15.5- *frayādišnīg* 'helpful': Kanga 1970, 222 reads *frahaxtišnīg*.

It is stated in *Pahl.Riv*.23.15 that on account of love and affection for the body it is difficult for the soul of righteous when it comes out of the body.

15.6- **ēmēdēnīdan* 'to give hope': cf. *ēmēdišn* 'to entertain hope' in *Dēnkard* VI.E43d.

PURSIŠN 16

This chapter was transcribed and translated by Kanga 1969, 65 ff.

16.3- *ānayišn* ['nyšn'] 'bringing' from ānīdan. Kanga reads the variant in TD as ['ws'nwnd] ōsānvand supposedly meaning 'having passed away'.

*ciyōn mēš ī gurgān *xast* ... : a similar phrase is found in *Gr.Bd*.IV.10: 'the sky was as afraid of him (the Evil Spirit) as a sheep of a wolf'.

16.5- *be ān cim rāy = pad ān cim rāy:* See *Dd*.5.4 Comm.

sāmān kersāsp [s'm'n' kls'sp] 'Sāmān Kersāsp': Av. *kərəsaspa-* both here and in *Dd*.35.3; 36.26, 84; *WZ* 35.2; *Pahl.Riv*.54; *Gr.Bd*.XXIX.8-9 he is mentioned as one of the Immortals who in the company of Tūs, Wēw and Kay Xusrō will help the Sōšāns to arrange the *fraš(a)gird*. But another feature of Kersāsp is that he is described as a soulless sinner who polluted the fire deliberately (*Sd.Bd*.20) or involuntarily (*Yt*.19.40; Y.9.11). Cf. *Gr.Bd*.XXIX.8: ' As regards Sām they say: He was immortal; at the time he scorned the Revelation of Mazdā-worship, a Turk who was named Nāīn slew him with an arrow, when he was asleep; there in the plain of Pēsyānsi, ... a myriad fravahrs of the righteous are his guards for this purpose that when Azi Dahāk shall become unfettered he may arise and smite him'. Williams 1990, II.245 suggests that Kersāsp's soullessness is an allusion to his reputed sinfulness. Kersāsp, as Williams 1990, II.161-4 has pointed out, has the best soul in the sight of Zardušt but is hateful in the sight of Ohrmazd. Williams (ibid.) suggests that H. E. Edulji (who brought together Avestan, Pahlavi and later texts on Kersāspa in 1983, 50, pp. 32-86) 'is perhaps correct in supposing that in the Pahlavi books the twist to the legend of Kərəsāspa, the great warrior hero, "was probably given by the Sasanian priests to warn the warrior class that they, the priests, were more powerful"'. Some sources about Kersāsp are *MX* 61.20; *ZWY* 3.55-61; *DkM* 802.14; 803.12; *SBE* XVIII. 373-381. See also *Dd*. Comm.35.3.

16.6- *nasuš* [nswš] 'Nasuš': a filthy female demon who in the form of an angry and ugly fly attacks the corpses from the north, the abode of the demons, and contaminates them; the reason for showing the corpses to the dog is to drive out the demon *Nasuš* from them. See *Pahl.Vd*.7.2; *ŠnŠ* II.1-4; X.33; *Pers.Riv*.112-18; Gray 1928, 211; Williams 1990, II.120.

padwišagōmand [ptwš<'>k' 'wmnd] 'contaminating': Av. *paiti.vaēšah-;* see Tavadia 1930, 33, note 7; Bailey 113; 202, note 4; Kapadia 1953, 496; cf. para. 13.

16.7- *grāyīh* [gl'dyh] 'severity': is also attested in *Dd*.36.80; cf. *Pahl.Vd*.XIII.45; *Gr.Bd*.TD1.178.15; 179.2, 5, and *BQ* Vol. III. p. 1783.

The reason for the disposal of the corpse seems to be clear from the sight of the author of *Dd*. however it seems incongruous according to Shaked 1994, 40. The problem, as he points out, is that on account of bodily resurrection of mankind in the Zoroastrian faith one expects a good preservation of the body in one place rather than dismembering and scattering it to all corners by birds of prey.

16.8- **judīhēd* [ywdyhyt] 'differs': is read *jastīhēd* 'occurs' by Kanga 1969, 73.

16.9- **hixrīh* [hyhlyh] 'dry dead (and hence impure) matter, such as nails and hair': Av. *hixra;* cf. *Pahl.Riv*.55.3: '(if) any dead matter peels from the hands, feet or from the limbs, if no moisture appears therewith, it is *hixr*, otherwise it is *nasā*'. Cf. also *Dd*.16.13. See *Pahl.Vd*.III.14; *ŠnŠ* XV.26; *Pers.Riv*.79.

16.10- *hambōšēnd* [hmbwšynd] 'come into being': cf. *CPD*, 40. For a discussion of two ahuric and daevic meanings of this word see Skjærvø 1994, 283.

16.12- *nazdīk-rāh-tar* 'the most direct way, the nearest way': cf. NP *nazdīktar rāh.*

stirdag [styltk'] 'scraped': cf. NP *sturdan*, etc.; cf. Henning 1940, 35.

16.13- *xwēšēnišn* [hwyšynšn'] 'appropriation': i.e. bone is re-appropriated to the original creation from whence it will eventually return (at *renovation*) in its former shape.

It is not proper to give it to domestic animals...: since some words are missing in this point Kanga has inserted: *nasāk ō gōspandān kē pat*

sūt ī martōmān brēhēnīt ut dāt ēstēt dātan nē sacāk 'It is not fit to give the dead body to the domestic animals who are created and produced for the welfare of mankind'.

ān ī pid mardōmān xward rāh nēst: there are other Pahl. passages indicating that the flesh is not to be eaten by man, e.g. *Pahl.Riv.*41, where the author is concerned with *marg-arzān* sins: *nasā pad wināhgārīh xwardan* 'wickedly to eat carrion'. In *AWN* 97 Wīrāz reports from hell: *ēg-im dīd ruwān ī zan-ē ud mard-ē kē abar rīd ud be xward u-m pursīd kū ēn tanān cē wināh kard kē ruwān ōwōn garān pādifrāh barēd gōwēd Srōš-ahlaw ud Ādur-yazad kū ēn ruwān ī awēšān druwand mard ud zan kē-šān pad gētīg nasā pad wināhgārīh jūd* 'And I saw the soul of a man and of a woman who defecated and ate (the faeces). And I asked: 'what sins did these bodies commit whose souls are undergoing such sever punishment?' Srōš, the pious, and the god Ādur said: 'These are the souls of the wicked man and the wicked woman who devoured corpses in sinfulness''. In another passage in *ZWY* 4.24 Ohrmazd predicts the evil time at the end of Zoroaster's millennium: *ud nasā nigānīdan ud nasā šustan ud nasā sōxtan ō āb ud ātaxš burdan ud nasā xwardan pad dād dārēnd ud nē pahrēzēnd* 'They consider burying corpses and washing and burning and taking it to the water and fire and eating the corpse as to be right and they will not avoid it'. In *Sd.N.*71 (West 1885, 336) it is said: 'for as much as it is not desirable for any one to eat dead matter for the sake of medicine and remedy, let them beware when they eat it. For it asserts, in the commentary of the *Vendīdād*, that it is requisite to demolish the habitation, house and abode of any one who has eaten dead matter, and to fetch his heart out of his body, and it is necessary to scoop out his eyes. And along with these torments, which they accomplish on him, his soul is in hell till the resurrection'.

16.14- Since no chapter on this subject occurs in the *Dd.* as extant, West 1882, 42 note 5, assumes that some chapters have been lost.

sagān ud wayān ... kirb xwārān dād ēstēd: the same expression is also found in *WZ* 30.32; MX 1.113 and *Pers.Riv.*24.2. An explanatory note is given by Shaked 1994, 40, note 39. It is notable that dogs are created by Ohrmazd as against demons and sorcerers (*Gr.Bd.*TD1.131.14), an spiritual dog is watching Cinwad bridge (*Gr.Bd.* TD1.170.11) a reminiscence of the story of *Yama-* in the Vedic mythology according to which *Yama-* is accompanied by two dogs each with four eyes, as his messengers (Macdonell, 1963, 173). An special dog with four eyes wards off the demon *Nasuš* during the

sag dīd ceremony (*Vd.*8.8-16), therefore dogs should be protected (*AWN* 48.1-4). As to the consumption of corpse by dogs, it seems that a bird of prey is substituted for a dog since dog is considered the first to eat meat (*Gr.Bd.*140). Shaked (ibid) points out that '... the shadow of the birds is parallel to the dog's gaze (*sag-dīd*).

The reason for showing the corpse to a dog is to drive out the demon *Nasuš*, as it is stated in *ŠnŠ* II.1: *andar ān zamān ka gyān be šawēd, ka-š sag-ē andar pāy bast ēstēd; pas-iz nasuš abar ōh dwārēd ud pas ka-š wēnēd, ā-š nasuš ōh zanēd.* 'at the time when the life departs, if a dog is tied (beside) his feet; then even (when) the *Nasuš* rushes on (him), and subsequently when it (i.e. the dog) sees it, then it drives out the *Nasuš*'. It is said in *Gr.Bd.*XXIV.48 that among the material creatures, cock and dog are created as collaborators of Srōš to oppose demons and sorcerers. See *Pahl.Vd.*7.2; *ŠnŠ* II.1-4; X.33; *Pers.Riv.*112-18; Gray 1928, 211; Boyce 1975, 303; Williams 1990, II.120.

PURSIŠN 17

17.2- Cf. *Vd.*VI.44-46: '... where shall we carry and where shall we lay the body of the dead? ... on the highest places whence the corpse-eating dogs or the corpse-eating birds may sooner recognize them. There the Mazdayasnians shall fasten the dead, by the feet or by the hair, with iron, stones or clay, lest the corpse-eating dogs or the corpse-eating birds may carry and throw the bones in the water or on the trees ...' (Dhabhar 1932, 78).

sag nimūdan: see above note 14.

As West 1882, 43, note 1 remarks 'this is another allusion to the missing chapter' mentioned in *Dd.*16.14 Comm.

17.3- Cf. *Vd.*VI. 49-51: 'Where shall we carry, where shall we lay the bones of the dead? For them, an uzdana (i.e. *astōdān*, ossuary) should be at once made out of the reach of the dog, of the fox, or of the wolf, and wherein rain-water may not fall from the upper part thereof. If the Mazdayasnians can afford it, (they can make it) of stones, or of plaster or of a thick cloth. If the Mazdayasnians cannot afford it, they shall lay them on the ground, in the bedding or the sheet (used by the dead), covered with light (i.e. in the open air) and beholding the sun' (Dhabhar 1932, 78).

astōdān is also described in *ŠnŠ* II.6; see also West 1882, 44, note 1.

17.4- *kandag* [kndk'] 'carved': another alternative is *kadag* 'room'.

sig [sk', syk, etc.] 'stone': can hardly be a dialectical variant of *sang* as assumed by Bailey 1971, 125, note 1. Cf. rather OP. *θikā-* . Cf. also *Dd.*30.17 (where KLBA'n = *sagān* 'dogs' is written for *sigān* 'stones'); 90.2.

Cf. *Pers.Riv.*102:'Q. Of what material should a *dakhma* be constructed wherein the corpses of Behdins are carried (and placed)? A. It is said in the Mazdayasnian religion that it is commendable and better if it is (made) of stone and mortar, but if it is not within one's power to build it of stone and mortar, then it will do if it is made of raw bricks and clay'. Then in the footnote is added in Persian that'and inside the *dakhma* should be covered by stone and plaster'.

PURSIŠN 18

Apart from the last paragraph, this chapter was transcribed and translated by Gignoux 1968, 235.

18.2- As Williams 1989, 231 has pointed out about Ahriman 'his very existence is the denial of existence'. Williams (ibid.) quotes a passage from *DkM* 530.20-531.3 by which the concept of the existence of Ahriman becomes more evident: 'It is possible to put Ahriman out of the world in this manner, namely, every person, for his own part, chases him out of his body, for the dwelling of Ahriman in the world is in the body of man. When he will have no dwelling in the bodies of men, he will be annihilated from the whole world; for as long as there is in this world a dwelling even in a single person for a small demon, Ahriman is in the world'. Cf. also *Dd.*36.51: *ēk ēn kū dām ī ohrmazd mēnōg ud gētīg-iz, ōy ī druz nēst gētīg be wad [ī] mēnōgīh abyōzīd ō gētīg* 'One is this, that the creation of Ohrmazd is spiritual and also material, while that of the *druz* is not material, but (he can only) join spiritual evil to the world'. The creation of Ahriman however is said in *Gr.Bd.*XXVII.52 to be fashioned from the material darkness. Cf. Zaehner 1955, 135, 180. See also Shaked 1967, 227-254; 1994, 23.

18.3- See *Dd.*30.5.

It is said in *ŠnŠ* XV.1-2 that Zoroaster was seated before Ohrmazd and saying to Ohrmazd 'Your head and hands and feet and hair and face and tongue (are) visible to me even as those of my own, and you have such clothes as men have. Give me (your) hand, so that I may take hold of your hand'. Ohrmazd said: 'I am an intangible spirit; it is not possible to take hold of My hand'. Williams 1989, 229 points out that 'in Zoroastrianism, from God and his Immortals down to the soul of each person, spirit reaches deep into matter, so that the very purpose and eventual outcome of existence is that the spirit of Mazda is to be realised in perfect bodily form'.

18.4- As it is mentioned in many Pahlavi texts e.g. *ŠnŠ* XV.4-5 Ohrmazd is the supervisor of the righteous man in the material world.

18.5- **ham-zamān* [hmzm'n] 'immediately, at once, at the same time': the text gives [hmnm'n]; Gignoux 1968, 235 reads *hammān* 'cohabitant'.

18.6- *dast-graw* [dstglwb'] 'captivity': see Tafazzoli 1995, 301.

PURSIŠN 19

Chapters 19-24 of *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* deal with the fate of the soul after death, on which see *Dd.*19.2 and 23.1, Comm.

19.1- Cf. *Dd.*23.1.

See Sd.Bd., ch. 99 for the same account of the fate of the departed soul.

19.2- See *Dd.*23.2

The most significant subject for the author of the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, to which he devotes several chapters (19-32), is the fate of the soul after death. No other Pahlavi text is so clear and straightforward as *Dd.* Manuščihr also gives a detailed account of the moment when the soul leaves the body, in other words, the point of death. The Pahlavi term *gyān kandan*, is applied to this moment. Its Arabic equivalent is *ehtezār* or *naz'*. However it seems that neither 'eradication of life' nor 'pangs of death' is an adequate translation of the Pahlavi term. According to Manuščihr *gyān kandan* may be likened to the moment when the inflammable material of a fire is burnt up and remains without glowing (*Dd.*22.2), i.e. when the last spark of life is extinguished.

According to Manuščihr's account in *Dd.*19.2; 23.2; 24.2 the soul of man or the spiritual counterpart of the body after death remains three nights on earth, where the body is, doubtful about its own place (see *Dd.*23.2 Comm.). During these three days and nights *(Sedōš)* the soul receives either pleasure or punishment according to his good or bad thoughts, words, and deeds (*Dd.*19.2; 23.4; 24.4). At the dawn of the third night the soul of the righteous man meets the guardian of his good deeds in the shape of a beautiful maiden who accompanies him to the place of account (*Dd.*23.5). At the same time the soul of the wicked man meets the guardian of his sins in the form of a frightful and harmful maiden (*Dd.*24.5). After being judged the souls of the righteous and wicked go to the Cinwad bridge over which all the souls

must pass. When the souls arrive it turns to the shape which is appropriate for them (*Dd*.20.4). The souls of the righteous pass over the bridge and go either to the Limbo or paradise, while the souls of the wicked fall from the sharp edge of the bridge to hell (*Dd*.19.4, 5).

19.3- *alburz* [ʾlbwlcʾ] 'Alburz': Av. *harā bərəzaiti;* see *Dd*.20.1, Comm.

19.4- See *Dd*.23.4.

hamēstagān [hmystkʾnʾ] '(the state of) Limbo' the intermediate place between Heaven and Hell: from Av. *ham.myas-* 'to be mixed in equal proportions', cf. Barth. 1190; Nyberg 1974, II.91. For more discussion on the etymology of *hamēstagān* see Klingenschmitt 1972, 79-92. In *DkM* 441 and *Pahl.Riv*.65.1 *hamēstagān* is said to be situated between the earth and the star station (as in the present text); in *Gr.Bd*.XXX.32-34 *hamēstagān* is a place just like the earth for those people whose sins and good deeds are equal. Ardā Wirāz (*AWN* ch.6) gives a somewhat different account as it states that those who have equal good deeds and sins remain in *hamēstagān* until the Final Body. Their punishment is cold and heat; see also *Dd*.23.6; 32.3. The same idea of dividing the heaven to three parts is also attested in Islam in which the parallel term for *hamēstagān* is *aʿrāf*.

For *gāhān srāyišnīh* see Dhabhar 1955, 136.

The division of heaven into three parts is also attested in *Pahl.Riv*.65.1: *ēn-iz az abestāg paydāg kū az zamīg tā ō star pāyag hamēstagān, pad star pāyag tā ō xwaršēd pāyag ān ī pāšom axwān, pad xwaršēd pāyag az xwaršēd pāyag tā ō asmān ān ī asar rōšnīh ud garōdmān andar ān ī asar rōšnīh.* 'This also (is) revealed in the Avesta, that from the earth to the star station (is) Limbo; from the star station to the sun station (is) the Best Existence; from the sun station to the heavens (is) the Endless Light, and *Garōdmān* (is) in the Endless Light' (Williams 1990, II.113).

19.5- *tēx* [tyh] 'sharp edge': see Henning 1964, 41.

PURSIŠN 20

20.1- *cinwad puhl* [cynwtʾ pwhl] 'Cinwad bridge, the Divider bridge': the bridge over which all the souls of righteous and wicked men must pass after death. It is located in Ērān-wēz and has two extremities, one on the top of cagād ī Dāitī and the other at the mount of Alburz according to *Dd*. and *Gr.Bd*.XXX.1. As a righteous soul passes the bridge it becomes nine spears wide while for a sinner it becomes as sharp as a blade. Cf. *Dd*.23.2; 31.2; 33.2. See Boyce 1975, 117; 137; 237. The concept of Cinwad bridge is comparable with the Islamic *Pul ī Sarāt;* the parallel points in these two traditions are quite significant.

cagād ī dāitī [ckʾtʾ Y dʾyty(d)y̱] 'the peak of Dāitī' is described in *Gr.Bd*.XXX. 1-2: 'A peak, which is of the height of a hundred men, in the middle of the world, which they call the peak of the Dāitī, is the fulcrum of the balance (i.e. the scales) of the yazat Rašnu; one scale is on the base of mount Alburz in the northern direction, one scale is on the summit of mount Alburz in the southern direction, and the middle rests upon that peak of the Dāitī. In that middle place is a floor sharp like a sword, the height, length, and width of which are nine spears'. See also *Gr.Bd*.IX.2, 9; cf. Markwart 1938, 122ff; Boyce 1975, 133, 137; and Gnoli 1980; cf. *Dd*.33.1, 2.

awestarag [ʾwstlkʾ] 'razor': cf. NP ostore 'id.' in Moʿīn 1982, I.249.

20.4- See Boyce 1984, 83; cf. also *Sd.Bd*. ch. 99.

20.5- *nay* [nʾd] 'reed': the nine spears of three reeds each, in length, making up the twenty-seven reeds; a reed seems to have been about 4 feet 8 inches; see West 1982, 48 note 5. Shaked 1979, 131.1 translates 'fathom'.

20.6- *hu-cihr* 'beautiful': the text gives the NP form [hwcyl] = *xujīr* / *hujīr*.

20.7- *dabrīh* [dplyh] 'roughness': is emended by ed. to *nēzagwarīh* [nyckwlyh] 'containing spears (?)'; the MS. TD gives [wspwlyh] but the MSS. J1, J2 and H give [dplyh] on which see Tafazzoli 1972, 267. The word can be read *dabrīh* cf. NP *zabrīh* meaning 'roughness'. It is also attested in *Pahl.Riv*. 4.2; cf. Williams 1990, II.122.

**kync* (?): I have found no explanation of this word. Dhabhar 1932, 573 has emended it to *kunduz* and has traced it in the NP *kundūz* 'needle' (?) but gives no etymology. NP *kundūz* 'needle' is found in Loq., 187, p. 251; cf. also *Sd.Bd*., ch. 99, where the form *kundūc* is given with the same meaning.

PURSIŠN 21

This chapter was transcribed and translated by Kanga 1980, 211 ff.

21.1- On the importance of *mard ī ahlaw* see *Dd*.1.1; 63; *Pahl.Riv*.46.4; *Gr.Bd*. XXVI.111; Zaehner 1961, 260; Shaked 1994, 52 ff.

21.2- *cēhīdār* [chytʾl] 'lamenting': is an emendation by Kanga 1980, 216, also adopted by Shaked 1994, 47 in his translation of this paragraph.

rāz [l'c] 'secret, mystery': see *Dd*.36.2 Comm. Kanga (ibid), who reads *nē-iz*.

glwhyyk' (?): Kanga (ibid), 212 reads *drānāyīk* and translates 'length, for a long time'. Shaked 1969, 207 reads *grōhīg* 'in groups'.

abaxšāyišnēnāg ['p̄hš'dyšnyn'k'] 'asking for forgiveness': for the various meanings of this word see Shaked 1979, 283.

21.3- *mēnōgān* [mynwk'n']: the text gives *menišn* which is joined to the former paragraph by Anklesaria; see Kanga for a different reading and translation; cf. also Shaked 1994, 47 and 1969, 207 f.

PURSIŠN 22

This chapter was transcribed and translated by Kanga 1980, 215 ff.

22.2- *a-tōšagīh* ['twškyh] 'without provisions': is emended to *wād-wazagīh* by West 1882, 52.

22.3- *mēnōgīhā band...*: see Williams 1990, ll.174-5; 182, note 2; *Dd*.31.3; 36.93. Cf. also *Pahl.T*.41; MX I.115.

ham-bar [hmbl] 'company': cf. *ham-ayār ud ham-bar* 'co-helper and companion' in *Dd*.89.5; cf. also *ham-barīhā* in *WZ* 175, note 44.

būšāsp [bwš'sp] 'Būšāsp': *būšāsp abespārēd wēn* cf. *Dd*.36.39: *u-š būšāsp dēw pad nizārēnīdan*. Cf. Kanga 1980, 218; cf. also *Dd*. 36.51.

cihr ī xwad bizešk: cf. Dd.2.13.

22.4- For the translation of this paragraph see Shaked 1971, 81. Cf. also *Dd*.15.2.

PURSIŠN 23

This chapter was transcribed and translated by Kanga 1983, 112. Moreover this chapter should be compared with *Dd*.19.2; 24.2-4; 25.3-5; 30; 31.

23.1- A clear description of the fate of the soul after death is found in Younger Avestan texts such as *Hādōxt Nask*, *Vīštāsp Yašt* and *Vidēvdād* as well as Pahlavi texts such as *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, *Pahlavi Rivāyat*, *Bundahišn*, *Mēnōg ī Xrad*, *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag*, and *Škand Gumānīg Wizār*, and in the New Persian Zoroastrian texts such as the *Persian Rivāyats* and *Sad Dar Nasr* and *Sad Dar Bundahiš*. Cf. also *Dd*. Comm. 13.5; 19.2.

23.2- *HN* II.5 adds that the soul chants the *Gāθā Uštauuaiti* and asks for blessedness during the three nights after death. *Vīštāsp Yašt* 22.53 has the same account as *Dd*.19.2; 23.2. *Pahl.Riv*.23.2 follows *HN* II.3-5 and states: 'For three days and nights the righteous soul sits in that

place where his head rests when his soul departs, he wears a white garment, (and) he speaks these words: "It was good for me if I did good deeds: I belong to Ohrmazd, and according to his wish he therefore treats me with goodness"'. *Sd.N*.99.1 gives more information: 'The soul walks about for three days in this world and goes to the place whence it has come out of the body and is in search of the body and entertains a hope thus: "Would that I could enter the body once again!"'.

mēnōg ī tan: ' the spiritual (counterpart) of the body': is probably the 'life', as described in *Dd*.21.4; see also West 1885, 54, note 1. Zaehner 1961, 305 translates 'the unseen genius of the body'. He remarks that the Zoroastrian conception of the nature of the soul is rather materialistic.

wišayg [wšyk'] 'fear, anxiety': see *Dd*.4.4 Comm.

23.3- *ruwān ī andar rāh* 'the journeying soul' (lit. the soul on the way): Zādspram in his *Wizīdagīhā* more clearly compares the combination of man to that of the sky and states that the structure of man includes four powers: *tanīg, gyānīg, dānišnīg*, and *ruwānīg;* cf. WZ 30.1. Each power consists of three parts; e.g. WZ 30.2 the ruwānīg power is divided into three: the soul in the body which is the spirit of the body, the soul out of the body, and the soul on the way. Cf. WZ 30.37, The soul on the way is the advisor of the body and leads him to the place of judgment where he is concerned with the sins committed by the body. (30.37) *ruwānīg se ī ast ruwān ī andar tan ud ruwān ī berōn ud ruwān ī pad mēnōgān axwān....(30.45) ruwān ī andar rāh mēnōg ast ī weh ud abēzag-cihrag. padīrag tan ōwōn winnārd ēstēd ōwōn ciyōn tan kāmag xwarišn xwarēd ud wastarg nihumbēd ān ī ruwān kāmag ka pad tan xwarišn be ō gursagān ud wastarg be ō brahnagān pad rāstīh be baxšēd....* See also Bailey 1971, 110 and Gignoux 1996, 23-35.

cašmagāh [cšmk's] 'aware, notorious': cf. *CPD*, 21. Bailey 1971, 110 translates 'downcast', and Zaehner 1955, 193 gives 'aware'.

23.4- As to the soul at this stage various accounts are found in Zoroastrian texts. In *HN* II.III; *AWN* IV, 6; *Pahl.Riv*.23.3 and *Dd*.19.2; 24.4 the soul is said to enjoy happiness for good deeds and to be punished for sins during these three days. But in *Gr.Bd*.XXX.4 it is said: 'When man passes away, the soul sits for three nights near unto the body, where its head was and sees much annoyance, during those nights, from the Dēv Vizareš ... and turns the back entirely towards the fire which is kindled there' (Anklesaria).

pad bun ēstēd: see *Dd.*11.2 Comm.

23.5- In the case of the Daēnā, the beautiful girl who is the personified figure of good thoughts, good words and good deeds all texts have nearly the same account (on which see *Y.*43.1; *HN* II.5; *Gr.Bd.*XXX.12; *WZ* 30.32; 35.59; *AWN* 4.9, 11; 17.9; *Pahl.Riv.* 23.5-11). See also Molé 1960, 155-185; Asmussen 1965, 106; Boyce 1975, 237. The good action of the righteous man appears before the soul as a handsome man in Islamic accounts as in the book of *Ihya' al-ulum* by Al-Ghazzali: *Somma ya'tīhā āta hasanū alvajh tayyeb alrīh hasan alsyāb. fayaghūlū abašarū berahmate rabbeka va jannātū fīhā na'īmun mughīm. fayaghūlū: bašarakallah bexayr, man anta? fayaghūlū ana amaluka alsāleh'* 'There comes (before the soul) a handsome and fragrant man in a good garment and says: "The blessing of your God and paradise, in which there is an everlasting comfort, be upon you!" (The soul) says: "The goodness of God upon you! Who are you?" (The man) says: "I am your good deeds"'.

23.6- Cf. *Dd.*19.4; 30.2 and 32.3.

franāftan [pln'ptn'] 'to proceed': Av. *fra-nam-;* cf. Barth. 1041; see Nyberg 1974, 76.

PURSIŠN 24

This chapter was transcribed and translated by Kanga 1983, 118 ff. Moreover this chapter should be compared with *Dd.*19.2; 23.2-5; 24.3-5; and the second fragard of *HN* in Westergaard 1852-4, XXII.1-18.

24.3- See *Dd.*23.3 Comm.

hangārīdār [hng'lyt'l] 'considering': from *hangārīdan, hangār-* cf. *CPD*, 42. West translates 'computer'; Kanga 1983, 114 reads *hu-grīyītār* and takes it to mean 'immensely weeping, excessively crying'.

cašmagāh dādār 'acknowledging': lit. 'making (them) evident (to himself)'; Kanga gives another alternative: *cašmakāsīhātār* 'aware'; see ibid., 121.

24.4- *awištābōmand* ['wšt'p''wmnd] 'troubled': cf. Gignoux and Tafazzoli 1993, 386.

24.5- *nigāhbed*: cf. *Dd.*23.5.

carātīg [cl'tyk'] 'maiden, girl': Av. *carāiti-*, cf. Barth. 581; it is also attested in *DkM* 603.7-10 and 610.4-12; cf. *a-carātīg Dd.*31.4. See Nyberg 1974, 53 and Kapadia 1953, 514.

abāxtar ['p'htl] 'north': is the place of Ahriman and demons. According to *Dd.*32.6 hell is in the north. In NP it is often used to mean west, however in some Persian sources *abāxtar* is also applied to east. See Mo'īn 1982, I.434.

astssstyh' (?): Kanga 1983, 124, note 9 reads *astvīdātīhā* 'in the manner of a person with bones fractured'.

nibēmišnīhā (?) [npdmšnyh'] 'prostrate, lying': cf. *nibēm CPD*, 59; Parth. nbdm; cf. also Nyberg 1974, 141. This word is read *nipadamišnīhā* 'joltingly, being tossed about' by Dhabhar 1955, 129; Kanga reads *vīmišnīhā* 'frightfully'.

24.6- **ašōganīh* ['šwgnyh] 'smiting the righteous': Avestan loan word, see Barth., 245.

weh-gōhr 'good-natured': is opposite to *wad-gōhr* 'bad-natured, ill-natured, of bad character'; cf. *MX* I.63; XV.30; LIX.2, 6.

nikōhagīh [nkwhkyh] 'blaming': cf. *nikōhīdag* in Bailey 1971, 49.

ēraxtan, ēranj- ['ylhtn', 'ylnc-] 'to damn, condemn, blame': as Shaked has suggested in 1979, 229, note 1C.2 it seems to be a legal term opposite to *bōxtan* 'save, acquit'.

PURSIŠN 25

This chapter was transcribed and translated by Gignoux 1968, 230-31. It is comparable to Ardā Wirāz's vision of paradise: *u-m dīd ān ī pahlom axwān ī ahlawān ī rōšn ī hamāg xwārīh ī frāxīh ud was sprahm ī hubōy [ī] harwisp pēsīd ī harwisp škuftag ud bāmīg ud purr-xwarrah ud wisp šādīh ud wisp rāmišn kē kas az-iš sagrīh nē dānēd* 'And I saw the best world of the righteous: bright, all ease and prosperity and many sweet smelling flowers, all coloured and all opened, brilliant, glorious, all happiness, all joy, by which no-one becomes satiated' (AWN XV.10).

25.3- *šēdāyīh* [šyt'yh] 'ecstasy, bliss': cf. Np. *šaydāyīh* with the same meaning. This word is also attested in *Dd.*36.103; cf. also *purr-šēdā*: *Dd.*36.105; for more explanation of this word see Zaehner 1937-39d, 894 ff.

25.5- *jahān* [yh'n'] 'spiringing': it seems to be derived from *jahīdan / jastan* 'spiring, happen', NP *jastan / jahīdan;* cf. Shaked 1971, 98 and 1979, 234.

hamēšag-sūd gāh: render Av. *misvānahe gātvahe;* cf. *Dd.*36.15; 30.17; *WZ* 179, note 31. See also Kreyenbroek 1985, 139, note 146.

25.7- *jahānīg* [yh'nyk] 'subject to change': the alternative reading seems to be **jahišnīg*(?) an adjective from the verb *jastan* (id); Gignoux (ibid) suggests *dahišnīg* 'created'.

PURSIŠN 26

This chapter was transcribed and translated by Gignoux 1968, 230-31. It is comparable to Ardā Wirāz's vision of hell: ... *u-m dīd ān ī sējōmand ī bīmgēn ī sahmgēn ī was dard ī purr anāgīh ī gandag ud tārtom dušox* ... 'And I saw the darkest hell, dangerous, fearful, terrible, holding much pain, full of evil, foul-smelling ...' *AWN* LIV.1.

26.4- *zarīg* [zlyk'] 'grief': for more explanation of this word see Zaehner 1937-39a, 105.

26.5- The translation is given by Shaked 1971, 73.

bun ud kadag 'origin and abode' rather than *bun-kadag* / *bun-xānag* about which see the discussion by Skjærvø 1990, 551. Cf. *WZ* 3.23.

26.6- *garān* [gl'n'] 'grievous': another alternative is *garzān, garz-* 'lamenting'; see Shaked 1971, 73.

PURSIŠN 27

27.1- *sedōš* [stwš] '*Sedōš*, the period of three full days after death': MacKenzie **stōš*. However the traditional pronunciation *sedōš* may be correct. Neryōsang translates *stwš* by Skt. *trirātra-* 'three nights', suggesting an etymology from *se* 'three'+ *dōš* '(last) night' (Av. **daošā-* 'evening, west' in *daoša(s)tara-* 'western', Barth. 674). During this time various ceremonies, such as Yasna, Vendīdād, Drōn and Āfrinagān, are performed for the departed soul. See for more discussion Modi 1922, 434; Tavadia, 1930, 14 ff.; Dhabhar, 1963, 121, note 4; Kotwal 1969, 169; Kreyenbroek 1995a, 31, note 24.

drōn [dlwn'] '*drōn*, consecrated bread': the word *drōn* derives from Av. *draonah-* 'portion, possession' and in Avesta it was a portion offered, through consecration, to the divine beings; Y.33.8; in Pahlavi *drōn* is the offering of a round bread with some butter called *gōšudāg*. A common *yašt ī drōn* celebration is that with the *šnūman* of Srōš. This ceremony should be performed during the three days following death; see Boyce and Kotwal 1971, 63; cf also *ŠnŠ* XII.1; XVII.3, 6; *Pahl. Riv.* 27.7; 56.1; and *Srōš Yašt*; for a detailed and comprehensive discussion of *drōn* see Boyce and Kotwal 1971, I, II; see also the Pahlavi text '*abar cim ī drōn*', K. M. Jamasp-Asa 1985, 334 and Modi 1922, ch. 12, 15; and *Pers.Riv.*413 ff.

*Gr.Bd.*XXVI.48-50 gives a parallel reason for performing *yašt ī drōn ī srōš*: 'As one says: 'Ohrmazd is the protector of the soul in the spiritual state, and Srōš is the protector of the body in the material state' .... The souls of the departed reach the Cinwad bridge under the protection of Srōš; they have, therefore, to perform *yazišn ī drōn* and *āfrīnagān* all for Srōš (for) seven years in seven regions'.

27.2- For an explanation of *mēnōg waxš* 'spiritual existence': see Shaked 1971, 59-107.

For the similarity of the newly dead person to a new-born child see *Sd.N.*, ch. 16, p. 15, and ch. 40, p. 109.

pēm xwarišnīh 'drinking milk': presumably refers to *gōšudāg*, Av. *gaoš.hudāh-* 'the beneficent cow' which represents the animal kingdom in *Drōn* ritual ceremonies. *Gōšudāg* may be milk, butter, eggs, wine, garden herbs, etc. See *ŠnŠ* II.17; III.35, note 7; *Pahl.Riv.*23.17; 58.67; Boyce and Kotwal 1971, I, 63.

ātaxš: Boyce 1966, 100-101, 107 refers to the *ātaš-zōhr* ritual at the (*cārom*) ceremony for the dead person, during which the fat of a sheep is offered to the *Ātaš ī Bahrām* because it is held that the departed soul goes to the court of king Bahrām the Victorious (i.e. the *Ātaš-Bahrām*) at dawn on the fourth day. If the fire is kept tended, Ādar-Xwarrah and other Amahraspands help the soul to pass the Cinwad bridge happily. I assume that keeping candles lit for the dead at the same time among Iranian Moslems is a survival of the above ritual. See also *Gr.Bd.*XXX.4; *Dd.*48.34 (P.K. Ankesaria 1958, 102).

27.3- *bērōnīhistan* [bylwnyh-stn'] 'to emerge, to go out': cf. *Dd.*36.95. It is also attested in *WZ* 29.8; 30.46.

27.5- *cāšnīg* [c'šnyk'] 'taste': is a ritual taste of *drōn*, consecrated food or drink; see Boyce and Kotwal 1971, I, 64.

27.6- This paragraph is translated by Tavadia 1930, 11; Shaked 1971, 88; Kreyenbroek 1985, 109; and it is comparable to *Dd.*13.3.

pādārīh [p't'lyh] 'protection': is also attested in *Dd.*36.100; cf. *Dēnkard*VI. B14.22; Bailey 1971, 49.

27.7- *bēdān* [byt'n'] 'those who will be': the form *bēd* / *bawēd* is 3rd sing. present indicative of the verb *būdan, baw-* 'to be, to become' here serves as a noun cf. Nyberg 1964, I, 176; II.52. The form *bēdān* is also attested in other Pahlavi books such as *DkM* 623.18; *Pahl.Yasna* 12.9; *Pahl.Vd.* (several times); *ŠnŠ* XV.24.

PURSIŠN 28

This chapter is transcribed and translated by Kreyenbroek 1985, 113.

28.1- Cf. for the same statement *Pahl.Riv.*56.3: *ud abārīg abāg ohrmazd yazišn be az srōš cē srōš xwadāy ud dahibed ī gēhān ast ēd rāy*

judāgīhā abāyēd yaštan 'And the others are to be worshipped with Ohrmazd, except for Srōš, for Srōš is the lord and ruler of (this) world; for this reason one should worship him separately'.

šnūman [šnwmn] 'propitiation, satisfaction': <Av. *xšnumaine;* Zand. *šnāyēnīdārīh*. For more explanation on the term *Srōš drōn* or *yašt ī drōn* with the *šnūman* of Srōš see Boyce and Kotwal 1971, I, 64 and II.299.

**ka*: for *kū*; cf. Brunner 1977, 242; Kreyenbroek 1985, 113.

PURSIŠN 29

29.2- *ušahin* ['wšhyn'] 'night time': the fifth gāh of the day, from midnight till sunrise, which is the period under the guardianship of Srōš. According to the *Gr.Bd.*III.21 a day is divided to five periods and over each period is appointed a spirit. *hāwan, rapihwin, uzērin, aiwisrūthrim* and *ušahin* are the name of five watches (*gāh*) of the day respectively.

rašn [ud] aštād: three *āfrīnagāns* are to be performed during the third night after death among which one is dedicated to Rašn and Arštād together. These two yazads who are the personification of justice are said to be met soon after death. See *ŠnŠ* XVII.3; Boyce 1975, 330.

ōš(e)bām / ušbām ['wšb'm] 'break of the day, dawn'.

ušdāštār ['wšd'št'l] 'Ušdāštār, protector of dawn': Av. *uši.darəna,* cf. Barth. 416; this mount is described in the Avesta as *aša.xwāθra-* 'having comfort from Aša'. It is a branch of the Alburz (*Gr.Bd.*IX.3) and is placed in Sistan (Gr.Bd.IX.18); it is also called *uši.dam-* in the *Avesta*, cf. Barth. 416. It seems likely that there might be a connection between Ušdāšdār and the mount Xwājeh in Sistan; see *Yt.*19.2; *Dd.*36.100. See also *Dd.*36.100 Comm.

29.3- The second *āfrīnagān* is dedicated to the *frawašis* of the just, for which see Boyce 1975, 122.

29.4- The third *āfrīnagān* should be dedicated to Rāman, who is related to Way (*Gr.Bd.*XXVI.28), the divinity of the air through which the soul must travel. See Boyce 1975, 80, 330.

Cf. *ŠnŠ* XVII.4; XXVIII.7 for the same statement.

*gyān-*apparišnīh* [HYA-'plšnyh] 'taking the soul' cf. Zaehner 1955, 86, n. 2.

PURSIŠN 30

This chapter was transcribed and translated by Kanga 1965, 72-86.

30.1- The same question is found in *HN.*II, III; and *Pahl.Riv.*23.1; cf. also *Dd.*19.4; 23.6. Beside the above sources, Williams 1990, II.172 gives more references on the fate of the soul after death e.g. *MX* II.123; *Dk* III; *DkM* 66; *Gr.Bd.*XXX; *Sd.Bd.*99; Zaehner 1961, 302-8.

30.2- *tāyag* [t'd(y)k'] 'ability, sufficiency': cf. *Dd.*Int.11 Comm.

ray wardyūn [lgy' wltywn']: 'swift vehicle'. Cf. MacKenzie, 1971, 70. Bailey 1971, 47 reads: *rah vartēn ut vāš cahārak bārak;* Gignoux 1984, 61, note 2 reads *rahy ud vardyūn* 'chariot and vehicle' and suggests that the word *rahy* was probably taken by mistake as a synonym to *wardyūn*. See also Kanga 1965, 80, note 2, who gives the history of the reading and interpretation of this word.

wāš [w'š] 'carriage, chariot': from Av. *vāša-*, cf. Bailey 1971, 231.

30.3- Cf. *Gr.Bd.*XXVI.12-14: Wahman's responsibility is introduction ... he carries the righteous man to the best existence and introduces him to Ohrmazd.

30.4- This paragraph is translated by Shaked 1971, 78.

30.5- Cf. *Dd.*18.3. For a different reading and translation of this paragraph see Shaked 1971, 76; cf. also Bailey 1971, 112.

**xwašīh* [hwšyh] 'kindness, pleasure': the text gives [hwyšyh]; Kanga reads *xwēšīh* 'relationship'(?).

ātaxš ... kē-š wahrām andar: on the *Ātaxš ī Wahrām* see Modi 1922, 211-239; as Boyce 1982, 223 suggests, 'when the temple cult was founded, the new temple fires were dignified by the Avestan epithet *vərəθrayan-* 'victorious', which in due course, as pronunciations changed, fell together with the substantive *vərəθrayna-* 'victory'; and since the latter was also the name of the immensely popular *yazata* of Victory, a confusion was natural'. See also Yamamoto 1981, 99 and ch. 5; Williams 1990, II.156, note 1.

30.6- A translation of this paragraph in found in Shaked 1971, 61.

30.7- **ahlawān ruwān*: the text gives *druz ruwān* [dlwc lwb'n] but one expects 'the (departed) soul (of the righteous man)'.

30.8- Cf. *Pahl.Riv.*23.14.

30.10- A translation of this paragraph is found in Kreyenbroek 1985, 134 f.

30.11- A translation of this paragraph is found in Mirza 1964, 121; and Gignoux 1968, 234.

a-caxšišn ['chššn'] 'without tasting' ; Kanga emends the word to *aboxšišn* and translates 'punishment'; Mirza reads *abaxšišn* 'repentance'; Gignoux (ibid) suggests **abāyišn*.

30.12- Cf. *Pahl.Riv.* 23.17

nām [n'm] 'name': Kanga reads *jām* 'cup'; Gignoux 1968, 234 reads *dām*.

mēdyōzarm rōγn [mytywkzlm MŠYA] 'spring butter': cf. *Pahl.Riv.*23.17; *HN* II.38; *MX* II.152; see also Kanga 1965, 84-85 for an etymology and full explanation.

30.13- Cf. Williams 1990, II.174.

kē mihr pad gāw axtar bawēd: cf. *Dd.*Int.15.

30.14- *ayār-dahišnīh* [hdyb'l-dhšnyh] 'friendship, help': cf. *Dd.*21.3; cf. also *Dēnkard* VI.C82.2.

ayāsišn, ayās- ['byd's-] 'longing': see *Dēnkard* VI. 57.

30.15- *hu-ayād* [hw'byd't'] 'good to remember': Kanga 1965, 75 reads *an-abyāt* 'unremembered'.

30.17- *sūd-abgār* 'beneficial': Zaehner 1955, 292 translates 'promote'.

stōrān pahān 'large and small cattle': cf. Av. *staora-* and *pasu-*.

ēd cē 'whatever': cf. *Dd.*2.13: *ēd kē;* 12.3; 14.3 Comm.

xwēn [hw(y)n] Av. *x*ᵛ*aēna-* 'shining': cf. MacKenzie, 1971, 96. *xwēn ābgēnagān* 'bright crystals' cf. Bailey 1971, 131.

pargān* [plk'n] 'walls': perhaps a form related to Parth. *p'rgyn* 'ditch' (pāri-kanya-*) or MP *pargān* '*wall' (according to Nyberg 1964, II.151). Text gives [plyk'n].

hu-dāhagān [hw-d'hk'n] 'well-fertilized': (lit. beneficent); cf. *weh dāhagān* para. 4 above. Kanga reads *hūdākān* 'well-yielding'.

ādur / *ātaxš*: are two different terms to name two different fires; see Boyce 1968b, 52-68.

**sigān* [sk'n] 'stones': the text has KLBA-'n [sagān] 'dogs' which is a miswriting for the plural of *sig* / *sag* 'stone' (written *syg* in *Dd.*17.4, see Comm.).

kirbag ī mēnōgīg ō ān ruwān abyōxt ... 'his spiritual good deeds are attached to the soul'; see Asmussen 1965, 33.

[wht']: (?) cf. *Dd.* 1.11; 3.2, 4; cf. Kanga 1965, 75 who reads *vaxt* 'destined' (i.e. *baxt*).

30.18- A translation of this paragraph is found in Shaked 1971, 74-5. Cf. also Zaehner 1961, 307 where he discusses the Zoroastrian conception of Heaven.

30.19- Cf. *Dd.*36.15.

PURSIŠN 31

This chapter was transcribed and translated by Gignoux 1968, 239-241. It is comparable to *Pahl.Riv.* ch. 23.

31.3- *wizarš* [wyzlš] 'Wizarš': a demon who pulls the soul of the wicked to hell after his death; cf. Nyberg 1974, 218. According to the Pahlavi texts everyone has a noose on his neck even before birth, cf. *Pahl.Riv.*23.29 and *Pahl.Vd.*19.29: *har(w) kas-ē pad band-ē andar gardan ōftēd ka be mīrēd ka ašō ā-š az gardan be ōftēd ka druwand ā-š pad ān ham band be ō dušox hanjēnd* 'it falls on to every person with a noose at (birth); when he dies if he is righteous, then it shall fall from his neck; if wicked, then they will drag him with that very noose to hell'. The noose is cast by Astwihād the demon of death, as is stated by some sources such as *Andarz ī pōryōtkēšān*, 31; *Dd.*36.93; or it is cast by the demon Wizarš according to *MX* II.164-166. Cf. also *Dd.*22.3 and *Gr.Bd.* XXVII.22. Then if the soul is wicked the demon Wizarš seizes him and hurts him badly and finally drags him to hell. See also *Pers.Riv.*58-9; Williams 1990, II, 174, note 12.

31.4- *rēšīdārān* [lyšyt'l'n'] 'those who are harmful': from *rēš-* 'hurt'. See *CPD*, 72.

**a-carātīgān* ['cl'tyk'n] 'those who are shameless (?)': lit. those who are not virgin; text gives ['ncl'tyk'n']. Cf. Gignoux 1968, 239.

gazāgān [gc'k'n'] 'those who bite': from *gaz-*, cf. *gastan, gaštan* in *Dd.* 36.22.

darrāgān [SDKWN-'k'n'] 'those who tear'. Gignoux (ibid.), reads *drīnāgān*.

gandagān sōzāgān [gndk'n swc'k'n'] 'burning stenches'. Gignoux (ibid.), omits *gandagān*.

**gušnagān* [gwšnk'n] 'those who are hungry': text gives [dwš gnn'k'n]. Gignoux however follows the text and reads *duš-gannagān*.

**anābuhlān* ['n'pwhl'n] 'those who are not atoned': cf. *CPD*, 8. Text gives ['n'p'hl'n]. Cf. also Gignoux 1968, 239-241.

bēš-kardārān [byš krt'l'n'] cf. *anāgīh-kardārān* in *Dd.*5.3.

31.5- *dād* [d't'] 'gave' is taken to mean 'justice' by Gignoux ibid. This word has the same written form as *yāt* meaning 'a degree of sin' (cf. *CPD*, 97), which may also suit the context.

bēšēnīdan [byšyn-ytn'] 'cause to offend, afflict': is also attested in *Dēnkard*VI. E45i.

**waranīgīhā* [wlnykyh'] 'lust': text gives [wlykyh']. Anklesaria emends to *waranīgīhā;* cf. text, 66, note 47. Gignoux *loc.cit.* suggests *virēgīhā kāmagīh* 'wish to escape'.

31.6- Cf. Kanga 1965, 84 note 9 and Mirza 1964, 121.

a-xwašīhtom ['BSYMyhtwm'] 'the most unpleasant'. Gignoux *loc.cit.* reads *ahōštom* 'id.'.

31.8- Cf. *Pahl.Riv.*23.35, 36: *ud druwandān gōwēnd kū-š gand dahēm ī nōg rīd estēd weh ān *gand *ka-š dahēm ayāb ān ī nē nōg rīd estēd ahreman gōwēd kū-š gand ī nōg dahēd cē ruwān ī druwandān ā-šān tā tan ī pasēn xwarišn ēn [ast]* 'And the wicked say: "Shall we give him that stench of freshly voided (filth)? Is it best if we give him that stench, or that which has not been freshly voided?" Ahriman says: "Give him the fresh stench, because for the soul of the wicked, then this is the food for them until the future body."' (Williams 1990, I.123; II.51) cf. also *MX* I.194; *Sd.Bd.*99.25.

a-frāz(ag): see *Dd.*Int.11 Comm.

31.10- *gast* [gst'] 'horrible, defiled' Parth. *gst*; OP. *gasta-* ; cf. *Dd.*36.22 Comm..

**rēbag [ly<y>pk']* 'deceit': from the base of *riftag* 'deceit'. Cf. Shaked 1979, 304. Gignoux *loc.cit.* reads *rōspīg*.

aboxšīdārīh ['pwhšyt'lyh] 'forgiveness, pity': cf. *WZ* 14.1.

didom [dtwm] 'again, second': Shaked *loc.cit.* reads **nīdom* 'lowest'.

PURSIŠN 32

This chapter was transcribed and translated by Gignoux 1968, 226.

32.3- *hamēstagān* [hmystk'n'] '(the state of) limbo': cf. *Pahl.Riv.* 65.1, 2; see also *Dd.*19.4 and 23.6.

32.4- **wixrūnīgān* [wyhlwnyk̲'n] 'tormentors' (lit.bloodies): cf. Av. *xrūta-, vīxrūmant-* etc., see Barth. 539, 1436-7; West 1882, 75. Mirza 1964, 113 explains this word as [DHLWN-yg'n] = *tarsīgān* 'fearful ones' (?), but such a form, as far as I know, does not exist in Pahlavi. Cf. Gignoux 1968, 226, who reads *viš-rōyišn (?)* and translates 'grows poison': see also Kreyenbroek 1985, 82.

32.5- *druzaskān* [dlwc'sk'n] 'the burrow of the *druz*': is a transcription of Av. *drujas-kanā;* cf. Barth. 781 'Höhle, Behausung der Drug'. The second element of this word derives from Av. *kan-* 'to dig'. The Pahlavi form of this word is also attested in *Vd.*XIX.41 and *Gr.Bd.*XXXI.6. See Mirza 1964, 114.

32.6- *arezūr grīwag* ['lzwl glywk'] 'neck of Arezūr': is called 'the gate of Hell' in *Pahl.Vd.*III.7: 'Oh holy Creator of the material world! which (where) is the first of this earth the most uncomfortable',- (that is, by which does the spirit of the earth have the greatest discomfort)?- Thereupon replied Ohrmazd: 'On the neck of Arzur where, Oh Spitamān Zaratusht!- (at the gate of the wicked existence) wherein the dēvs concur ...'. In *Pahl.Riv.*50.1 it is said that: ... *ān gyāg kū dar ī dušox grīwag-ē ēdōn arezūr grīwag nām ī wēm ān be gōwēnd ...* 'where the gate of Hell (is), (there is) a neck; they call that rock The Neck of Arezūr by name. (Cf. Williams 1990, II.90; 241). The same statement is attested in *Gr.Bd.*IX.10: 'The neck of Arezur is a summit at the gate of Duzakhv, whereon the congress of the divs, [that is,] they practise [all deceitfulness] thither'. Although the mount ərəzura- is created by Ohrmazd in *Yt.*19.2, it is also called the gate of Hell in the *Pahl. Vd.*, perhaps because of several volcanoes in it. The name Arezūr also occurs as that of a demon mentioned in *MX* XXVII.15, although there is no obvious connection with the 'Neck of Arezūr' in the Pahlavi texts. See Christensen 1917, I, 53; Hartman 1953, 31; Williams 1990, II.241.

abāxtar: see *Dd.*24.5 Comm.

PURSIŠN 33

33.1- *dāitī*: see Comm., 20.1.

33.2- Cf. *Pahl.Riv.* chapter 65; cf. also *Dd.*19.4; 23.6; 30.2.

PURSIŠN 34

34.2- *hāzēd* [h'cyt'] 'achieve'(?); alternatively it can be emended **ayābēd* ['y'pyt'] 'obtain'.

34.3- *anagr<āy>* ['ngl<'d>] 'infinite': an alternative reading might be **hugar(āy)* (?) *[hwgl<'d>] 'beneficent'. However MSS J1, J2, DF, H give [hwwyl'd] (?); if either is correct it seems that the author is making the word *hugar(āy)* or *anagr(āy)* rhyme with *dagr pattāy*.

PURSIŠN 35

This chapter was transcribed and translated by Molé 1963, 444-45 and 1967, 226.

35.1- *fraškardārīh* [plškrt'lyh] 'making the renovation': cf. *fraš(a)gird* [plškrt'] 'the renovation, restoration': <Av. *frašō.kərətay-* 'Neugestaltung (der Menschheit)', Barth. 1008. According to the Avestan

and Pahlavi texts the final position of the material world should be just the same as at the beginning of the creation, that is, spiritual (*mēnōg*), painless and free of evil. The period of the renovation is said to be 57 years (*WZ* 46-50), during which Sōšāns rules in the country of Xwanirah, the centre of the earth. He, with the help of his assistants (i.e. *fraš(a)gird kardārān*), will put the religious law into effect once again and give a new order to the world (*WZ* 35-14). It is also said that there will be no death or destruction, nor demon-created envy in the renovated world and that the renovators are equal in thoughts, words and deeds (*Yt.* 13.83; 19.16; *WZ* 35.17; *Dd.*). According to *Dd.*35 the number of the special renovators is seven (see above, para.4) but the names and number of these renovators do not correspond with those mentioned in other Pahlavi texts. Since the *fraš(a)gird* is held to replicate the beginning of the creation, it seems likely that Manuščihr was trying to make the number of the renovators correspond with the seven *amahraspands*. See Boyce 1975, 284.

35.2- *abāyišnīgān* ['p'yšnyk'n] 'those who are necessary': since the text gives ['phššnyk'n] an alternative reading might be *abaxšišnīgān* 'assignable'.

35.3- *sāmān kersāsp* [s'm'n' kls'sp̄] 'Sām(ān) Kersāsp' Av. *kərəsaspa-*; in *Avesta* he belongs to the family of *sāma-*; in Pahl. texts the name Sām and Kersāsp are often identical; in Shahnama Sām and Kersāsp are two different personalities; cf. Christensen, 1931, 99-106; 129-146; Yarshater 1983, 373. In *Pahl.Riv.*48.35 it is said that at the time of renovation 'Ohrmazd with the *amahraspands* will approach the soul of Sāṃān, and he will raise up Sāmān Kersāsp, and he (i.e. Sāmān Kersāsp) will slay Dahāk'; cf. also *Dd.*16.5 Comm.

kay xusrō [Kdhslw(d)] 'Kay Xusrō': cf. *Pahl.Riv.*48.39: 'And when the Sōšāns comes back from consultation, then Kay Xusrō will come towards him, sitting upon Wāy of Long Dominion'. According to *DkM* 817 ff., Kay Xusrō met Wāy of Long Dominion, transformed him into the form of a camel, sat upon him, and rode upon him to see the places of the immortal heroes. See Zaehner 1955, 87, note 3; Williams 1990, II.232-3, note 26. Some sources on Kay Xusrō are: *Yt.*5.49-50; 9.17-19, 21-23; 15.31-32; 13.137; *Dēnkart* VII ch.1.39; VI ch.16.19; VIII ch.13.14; *Gr.Bd.* XXXV, 22; XXXVI.7; XXXIII.108b; *MX* 26.58; 61.13; *Dd.* 36.26; 89.4.

Other collaborators of Sōšāns who are also held to be immortal are mentioned in *Dd.*89 as follow: 1- *Wan ī jud-bēš* 'the tree opposing harm'; 2- Gōpatšāh; 3- Pišyōtan; 4- *Fradāšt ī Xumbīgān*; 5- *Yōšt ī Friyānān*; 6- *Ašəm Yahmāi*; 7- Ašawazdād. Cf. *Dd.*16.6; *Pahl.Riv.*54; Zaehner 1955, 87; Williams 1990, II.164 and 239.

35.4- The seven renovators as attested in *Yt.*13 and *WZ* 35.17 are: 1- *Raocas.caēšman*, see Barth., 1489; 2- *Hvarə.caēšman*, see Barth., 1848; 3- *Frādaṯ.- xᵛarənah*, see Barth., 1015; 4- *Viδaṯ.xvarənah*, see Barth., 1442; 5- *Vouru.nəmah*, see Barth., 1431; 6- *Vouru.savah*, see Barth., 1431; 7- *Astvaṯ.ərəta*, see Barth., 215 (Yt.13). 1- *Rōšncašm* 2- *Xwarcašm* 3- *Frādat-xᵛarrah* 4- *Wīdat-xwarrah* 5- *Worunem* 6- *Worusūd* 7- *Sōšāns* (*WZ* 35: 17).

Frādat-xwarrah: <Av. *Frādaṯ xᵛarənah;* cf. Barth. 1015; and Mayrhofer, 1977, 42-43, no. 136: 'Der das xvarənah fördert'; cf. also *WZ* 35.14, 17.

Widat-xwarrah: <Av. *viδaṯ.xᵛarənah-;* cf. Yt.13, 128; Barth., 1442; and Mayrhofer, 1977, 94, no. 365: 'Der das xvarənah findet, seiner teilhaftig wird'; cf. also *WZ* 35.14.

Kāmag-nyāyišn, Kāmag-waxšān / -waxšišn: <Av. *vouru.nəmah-*; cf. *Yt.*13, 128, Barth., 1431; and Mayrhofer 1977, 73, no. 393: 'Der andachtiger Verehrung weithin reicht'; cf. also *WZ* 35.14.

Kāmag-sūd: Worusūd <Av. *Vouru.savah-* cf. Yt. 13, 128, Barth., 1431; and Mayrhofer 1977, 100, no. 394: 'Der mit weitreichender Kraft'; cf. also *WZ* 35.14.

35.5- According to the Zoroastrian mythology the universe is divided to seven *kišwar* (continents) as follows:

1- *arzah* ['lz'h] 'Arzah': the eastern continent'; Av. *arəzahi-*, see Barth., 202.

2- *sawah* [sw'h] 'Sawah': the western continent'; Av. *savahi-*, see Barth., 1562.

3- *fradaδafšū* [pldt'pš] 'Fradadafš': the south eastern continent; Av. *fradaδafšō-*, see Barth., 982.

4- *wīdaδafšū* [wydt'pš] 'Wīdadafš': the south western continent; Av. *Vīdaδafšō-*, see Barth., 1442.

5- *wōrūbaršt* [w'wlwblšt'] 'Wōrūbaršt': the north-western continent; Av. *Vouru.barəšti-*, see Barth., 1430.

6- *wōrūjaršt* [w'wlwclšt'] 'Wōrūjaršt': the north-eastern continent; Av. *Vouru.jarəšti-*, see Barth., 1430.

7- *xwanirah* [hwnyls] 'Xwanirah': the central continent. See Nyberg 1974, II; Boyce 1975, 284; Av. *xᵛaniraθa-* the central clime. *'niraθa-* < **ni-rm̥tho-* may belong to MP [nyr'myšn] 'layer' or 'deposit', cf. Andreas-Henning, *Mir.Man.* I, 177.8 ... Accordingly *xᵛa-niraθa-* can be understood as literally meaning 'self-founded, being its own

foundation, not resting on anything else' (quoted from Gershevitch 1959, 176).

35.6- Cf. *WZ* 35.18 for a parallel statement.

paywast-axwīh [ptwst ʾhwyh] 'like-mindedness': cf. Nyberg 1974, 159. Molé 1963, 444 reads *patvast ahoš* and joins it to the last paragraph.

35.7- One should bear in mind that the *fraškardārān* or renovators are not necessarily immortals. The confusion of 'Renovators' and 'Immortals' has resulted in different accounts of the renovators in the Pahlavi texts, e.g. *Yt*.13; *WZ* 35.3; *DkM* 805; *MX* 7.27, 28; *ZWY* 9.20-23. It is said in *Pahl.Riv*.54.1 that *frašegird kardār was hēnd ān ahōš ud a-marg ēk pišyōtan ēk wan ī jud-bēš ēk gōpatšāh ēk yōšt ī friyāniyān ud ān kē-š gyān andar tūs ud wēw ud kersāsp ī tan ast u-š gyān nēst* 'The producers of Frašegird are many; they (are) immortal and deathless: one (is) Pišyōtan; one (is) the Tree Opposing Harm; one (is) Gōpatšāh; one is Yōšt of the Friyān family; and those who (have) a soul, Tūs and Wēw, and Kersāsp, who has a body and has no soul' (Williams, 1990, I, 197; II.91). Likewise the names of the immortals are not the same in Pahlavi texts. They are mentioned in Dd.89.1-5 as follows: *89-om pursišn ān ī pursīd kū awēšān kē a-ōš hēnd ud amarg dād ēstēnd kē ud cand hēnd. u-šān a-ōšīh tā cē sāmānag ast. har(w) ēk pādixšāyīh kū-gyāg dārēnd ... pāsox ēd kū xwadāy ī a-ōš ī xwarrah kešwar ī xwanirah 7 guft ēstēd. ēk yōšt ī friyāniyān, ēk awestāgīg [ašəm.] yahmāi.ušta nām ud hamfriyān pus, ēk fraδāxšti nām ud xumbīgān pus, ēk ašawaz[d]an[h] nām ud poruδāštōš pus, ēk wan ī jud-bēš, ēk gōbatšāh, ēk pēšyōtan kē az cihrō(g)-māhān xwānīhēd* ....'The eighty-ninth question: who and how many are those who are deathless and are made immortal, and how far is their immortality; where does each one of them rule; how far is the sovereignty of each one? ... The reply is this that the immortal rulers of the glorious region of Xwanirah are said to be seven: one Yōšt son of Friyān; one is named in Avestan [Ašəm].yahmāi.ušta son of Hamfriyān; one is named Fraδāxšti son of Xunbyā; one is named Ašawazdangh son of Poruδāxšti; one Wan ī jud-bēš; one Gōbatšāh; one Pēšyōtan who is called Cihrō(g)-māhān'.

PURSIŠN 36

Dd.36. 1-11 was translated by Kanga 1976, 74.

36.1- It seems rather strange that the author has devoted himself to answer the first part of the question and mostly the struggle between the good creation and the evil creation; hence, he has presumably forgotten to reply the last part of the question. As to the restoration of the dead, the same discussion is found in *Gr.Bd.* 221, *WZ* 34. 6, and *Pahl.Riv*.48.55

36.2- *rāz* [lʾc] 'secret, mystery': cf. *Dd*.21.2; 36.29. The technical concept of this term is fully discussed in Shaked 1969, 206 where he also quotes the related Pahlavi passages. Shaked 1969, 212, points out that the '... two main characteristics of the mystery designated by the word *rāz* [are]: the secret of the battle of the gods with the demons, which goes together with the knowledge of how to vanquish the demons; and the secret of eschatology'. See also Shaked 1994, 48-49.

be....enyā 'except': cf. MacKenzie 1971, 18

36.3- Cf. *WZ* 34.6: *ohrmazd guft kū awēšān dāmān ka nē būd hēnd ā-m brēhēnīd tuwān būd ud nūn ka būd ud wišuft abāz passāxtan hugartar* 'Ohrmazd said: I was able to create those creations when they did not exist, and now that they have existed and are broken up, it is easier to restore them'. For the same statement see *Gr.Bd*.XXXIV; *Pahl.Riv*.52.1, all cited by Bailey 1971, 92-95. Cf also *Sd.Bd.*, *Xātima-yi Kitāb*. Zoroastrian eschatology has been studied by several scholars among them see Gignoux 1968. Boyce 1989. Hultgård 1979; 1983 and Shaked 1994, 27-51 in which further references are mentioned.

dēsīdan, dēs- [dys-ytn'] 'build': cf. *WZ* 156; *Gr.Bd*.124.9.

a-raxt [ʾlht'] adj. 'without pain or trouble': Kanga in 1976, 74 has read *a-rašt* and translate it 'undyed'. This reading does not fit the context. I suggest that presumably the better reading is *a-raxt* from infinitive *raxtan, ranj-* 'to vex, to grieve'. Cf. *raxīdan* 'to pant', *Loq.* and *BQ*.943. See Nyberg 1974, 168.

huzārag [hwzʾrk] 'small, little': cf. Henning 1937, 91; Zaehner 1940, 35.

36.4- Cf. Shaked 1974b, 264.

a-pōyišn [ʾpwdšn'] 'devoid of wear' (?) cf. WZ 35.1. Another alternative is **a-penišn* [ʾp(y)nšn'] 'without misery' (?)

**šken(n)āg* [škynʾk'] 'destroyer': Kanga in 1976, 74 assumes that the form is given incorrectly for *darrāk* [SDKWNʾK] from inf. *darrīdan* 'to split, to tear'. Another alternative is: **dārāg*[YHSNNʾk'] 'possessor': Shaked proposes *ast-dahēnāg* 'a destroyer of that which exists' or 'destroyer of the bone?'

nang-gar [nng gl] 'shameful': another alternative reading is *wanīgar* [wnygl] 'destroyer' for which see Tafazzoli 1971, 33.

36.5- *ham-sarān ['msl'n'] 'of the same kind, associates, community': Text gives [AMT sl'n']. Cf. Man. Parthian; Henning, 1936-39, p. 87; cf. also Shaked 1979, 246, note 62.1. Alternative readings can be *ham-sardagān 'like', *ham-dilān (West 1882, 81), *ham-gilān (Shaked, 1974a, 246).

36.9- hazangrōzam [hznklwzm] 'millennium' <Av. hazaŋrō.zəmahe cf. Barth. 1798. The period of nine thousand years concerns the division of the world to twelve thousand years (four periods of three thousand years) according to the myth of creation deals with in the first chapter of Gr.Bd.

36.10- paragraph 10 to 14 was translated by Molé in 1963, 400-401.

36.11- *ōšyār ['wšy'l] 'alert, conscious': the alternative treatment however, might be to emend to *a-wēh ['wyh] for which cf. Dd.1.9; 34.2; 36.18.

bawišn [YHWNšn'] 'existence, being': Kanga 1976, 76 reads dānišn.

wehīgān [wyhyk'n] 'good, good things' is a pl. of wehīg which renders Av. vaŋhanąm according to Barth. 1916, 23 ff. It occurs also in Dd.36.46, 49; 38.2. See Bailey 1971, 15 and 231 and Williams 1990, II.256, note 60.7.

drōšīdan [dlwš-ytn'] 'mutilate, punish': see MacKenzie, 1971, 28. Kanga in 1976, 79 gives an alternative reading as grōhīdan 'to brand'. See also Dd. 16.13.

dardīhēd [dltyhyt'] 'is pained, tormented': cf. spurr-dardīh in its next few lines.

uzmānīhēd ['wzm'nyhyt'] 'is tested': uzmānīh- is a denom. vb. from the noun *uzmān, pres. uzmāy- cf. uzmūdan = azmūdan, azmāy-; NP āzmāy- cf. framān, framāy-. Kanga follows Molé and reads uz-mānīhēd and translates 'ousted'.

angramanīh ['nglmnyh] 'devilish' occurs also in Dd.36.13 and 101; cf. Bailey 1971, 21, 181. West 1982, 83, note 4 assumes andarmūnīh is a form analogous to pērāmūnīh with the meaning of andarūnīh 'internal'. Molé 1963, 400 reads andarmānīk 'intérieure détruite'.

36.13- ānāstīhā ['n'styh'] 'destroyed': cf. Dd.36.69; CPD, 9; WZ 24.5; Tafazzoli 1969, 50.

uzmūdīhā ['wzmwtyh'] 'with tormenting, testing': see above.

padistīh [ptstyh] 'threat, intimidate': cf. Gr.Bd.1.23; MMP. pdyst 'promise', see Boyce 1977, 69; cf. also WZ 1.5, 7, 8. For different form of this word and its equivalents in Classical Persian see Tafazzoli 1985, 651.

36.14- xwadād [hwt't'] 'self supported': cf. Av. xva-dāda- 'self-guardian', another alternative is from Av. xvaēāta-, cf. Barth., 1862.

cihr [chl] 'substance, nature': cf. Bailey 1971, 92.

whtl (?) cf. Dd.1.11; 3.4; 30.17

36.15- For a detailed discussion on asmān 'sky', its substance and divisions see Bailey 1971, 120-149 see especially p. 141, where he points to this paragraph. nēk-kard [nywk'-krt'] 'well-made': cf. hu-kard Dd.36.8. The sky is also described as 'well-made' in Zand ī Xwardag Avestāg, p. 256: ka-š farāz brēhēnīd asmān ī nēk-kard ī rōšn ... 'When he created the sky, finely made, bright ...'

hāxt [h'ct'] past form of hāxtan, hāz- 'lead, persuade, follow': this word seems likely to be confused sometimes with ayāftan 'to find, obtain' even in other texts, cf. WZ 3.4; 24.3.

36.16- For the translation of this paragraph see Molé 1963, 438, and Bailey 1971, 141.

36.17- āznāwar gurdag ['zn'wl gwltk'] 'noble warriors': cf. Bailey 1932, 945 and Mirza 1964, 120.

ēwarzīdan ['dwlcytn'] 'travel, move': cf. Zaehner 1937, 894; Bailey 1971, 116, CPD, 31; cf. also Dd. 15.5.

ēr-padān ['ylpt'n'] 'those who have fallen down': from pad- 'fallen', cf. CPD, 62; this form is given by the Ms DF. Text gives ['ylp'nk] (?) ēr-pānag 'below, down the shelter' (?)

36.18- The translation of this paragraph is found in Shaked 1982, 202. Cf. also Molé 1963, 438.

[PWN ltyh] (?) Shaked (ibid) emends to *purr-rēdīh 'plenitude of faeces'

*a-wehīh ['wyhyh] 'evil': cf. Dd.1.9; 34.2; 36.11.

pōzēnag [pwcynk'] 'apology, excuse': cf. MP bōxtan, bōz- MMP bwxtn, bwz- 'save, redeem', cf. NP pōziš 'apology'; see Nyberg, 1974, 162; CPD 19; Shaked 1982, 202, note 26. The idea of 'penitence' for evil beings at the time of renovation seems to be a characteristic feature of Dd. (cf. also Dd. 36.94, 95) through which one may assume that Manuščihr was trying to support the idea of forgiveness in the Zoroastrian eschatology against the character of the avenger God in other religions.

36.19- Man is called sālār ī dāmān in most Pahl. literature. Cf. Dd. 1.5.

36.20- For a different reading and translation of this para. see Molé 1963, 402, 438.

36.21- A similar report of the creation of luminaries and their function against the assault of Ahreman is found in Pahl.Texts e.g. *Gr.Bd.*TD1.22.14; 28.9.

ēstēnīd [YKOYMWNyt'] 'established, fixed': cf. *Dd.*36.44; *Dēnkard* VI.156.

36.22- *mih ī petyārag* 'in opposition to the enemy (?)', cf. Ved. *mithás* 'in contrast, opposition'.

abāz ēstēnīdan ['p'c yst'nytn'] 'to stop, restrain' tr. vb. See *Loq.*

gast [gst'] 'horrible, ugly': occurs also in *Dd.*31.10; cf. OP. *gasta-;* Parth. *gst;* MMP *gašt, gaštan* 'to bite'; cf. *gazīdan, gazāg* in *Dd.*31.4; *gazišn* in: *Dd.* 36.40; 40.4; cf. also Tafazzoli 1990, 59; and *WZ* 3.64. See *Dd.* 31.10 Comm.

36.24- For a different reading and translation of this para. see Molé 1963, 402, 438.

36.25- A translation and transcription of this para. is found in Molé 1963, 106; Bailey 1971, 33, 112; and Shaked 1971, 92.

frawahr [plw'hl] 'frawahr, the immortal conterpart of man' Av. *fravaši-;* cf. Barth. 992. OP *fravarti-;* MMP *prwhr-*. For a discussion of *frawahr* see Bailey 1971, 1-77.

36.26- A translation and transcription of this para. is found in Molé 1963, 106, 242; Bailey 1971, 48; Shaked 1971, 93.

frawāk [plw'k'] 'Frawāk': <Av. *fra.vāka-;* cf. Barth. 995. He is called the son of Syāmak and the father of Hōšang, and the great-grandson of Gayōmart. Cf. *Dk* VII.70, *WZ* VII.1, and *GrBd.* XXXV. The reason why he is mentioned to have many children is that according to *Gr.Bd.*XV.25-31, the fifteen races of man are originated from him. Cf. Nyberg 1974, 77.

pēšdād [pyšd't'] 'Pēšdād': <Av. *para.δāta-;* cf. Barth. 854. (Lit. put at the head, the first of his dynasty), honorary title of the first king, viz. Hōšang; see Nyberg 1974, II.161.

hōšang [hwš'ng] 'Hōšang': see *Dd.*1.8 Comm.

Tahmurip [thmwlyt'] 'Tahmurip': according to the *Yt.*XV.12, and *GrBd.* during the first millennium he fought with many demons and fiends and destroyed them. The story of Tahmurip and Ahreman is found in *Pers.Riv.* as well as the above *Yt.* See *Dd.*1.8 Comm.

jam [ym] 'Jam, Jamšēd': <Av. *yima-;* is said to have three *xwarrah* (NP *farrah*) both in *Yt.* IV, V, IX and *Shahnama*:

manam guft bā farrah-i īzadī

hamam shahryārī u ham mubadī [pādishāhī-ye jamshīd]

Jam has the epithet *xwarənahvant-* Pahl. *purr-xwarrah* also in *Āfrīn ī paygāmbar Zardušt.*3. Cf. *Dd.*1.8; 36.26, 81; 38.19, 25, 26, 30; *Pahl.Riv.*46.21. See also Christensen 1917, II.3-173.

Frēdōn [plytwn'] 'Frēdōn': <Av. *θraētaona-;* cf. Barth. 799. His relation to medicine has already been discussed by Darmesteter 1880. He pointed out that the name *θraētaona-* is identical with *θrita-* who is said to be the first wise medical doctor in *Vd.*XX.2. Cf. Bivar 1967, 520-524 in which Frēdōn is smiting the demon (of sickness). Cf. Boyce 1977b, 63ff., 88. Williams 1990, II.265, notes that 'most of Anquetil du Perron's nīrangs invoke *θraētaona / Frēdōn* against sickness and other troubles'.

har(w)-2-xrad 'both wisdoms': are *āsn xrad* 'innate wisdom' and *gōšōsrūd xrad* 'acquired wisdom', cf. Bailey 1971, 98; *Dd.*39.2.

kersāsp [kls'sp̄] 'Kersāsp': cf. *Dd.*16.5 Comm.; he has the epithet *purr-ōz* also in *Pahl.Riv.*47.7.

kay kawād [kdkw't] 'Kay kawād' the first king of Kayanians who according to Pahlavi sources was the ancestor of the Kays who inherited them fortune which is the allusion in *xwarrah-tōhmag*, cf. *DkM* 689.12; *Gr.Bd.*177.11; Bailey 1971, 46.

ōšnar ['wšnl] 'Ōšnar': <Av. *aošnara-* is called *pouru.jira- / purr-zīr* 'very clever' in *Yt.*13.131 and *Āfrīn ī paygāmbar Zardušt.*2. His Avestan epithet is rendered *purr-griftār* 'very intelligent' in *Pahl.Riv.*47.

syāwaxš [syd'whš] 'Syāwaxš': <Av. *syāwaršan-* 'having black stallions', cf. Barth. 1631. He was the son of Kayōs and father of Kay Xusrō of Kayanian dynasty. His grievous story is found in the *Avesta* and *Shahnama.*

abar-kār ['p̄lk'l] 'important, (one who performs) superior works': <Av. *uparō. kairya-*, cf. Barth. 394.

kay xusrō [kdhwslwb] 'Kay xusrō': see *Dd.*35.3 Comm.

burzāwand [bwlc'wnt'] 'exalted, of high insight'; it is the epithet of Kay Wištāsp, cf. *DkM* 640.17, 21; 642.20, 21; 405.9.

kay wištāsp [kdwšt'sp] 'Kay Wištasp': the protector of Zoroaster, cf. Bailey 1953, 101-103.

ādurpād ['twr' p't'] 'Ādurpād': <Av. *Ātərəpāta-*, cf. Barth. 318. It presumably refers to Ādurpād Mārspandān the high priest of Shahpur II (309-379 A.D.) . He underwent the ordeal of the molten metal

which was poured on his breast in order to uproot any doubt about the good Mazdayasnian Religion. Some Pahl. texts containing *andarz* (advice) literature are attributed to him. Cf. Zaehner 1961, 187; Boyce 1968, 52; Tafazzoli 1977, 47; Shaked 1979, 283; Williams 1990, II.257-259.

pēšyōtan [pyšywtn'] 'pēšyōtan': < Av. *piši.šyaoθna*, cf. Barth. 908. He is the son of Kay-Wištasp. According to *ZWY* VII.19-20 he will prepare the world for the birth of Ušēdar, the son of Zoroaster. See Darmesteter 1960, II.666.note17, 638.note125. See also Cereti 1995, 178.

mānsrīg ciyōn hušēdar...cf. *Pahl.Riv*.48.4, *dēn abēzag be kunēd hādamānsarīg andar ō kār gīrēd ud kār az hādamānsar kunēd.* 'He (i.e. Hušēdar) will purify the religion, he will bring (the ritual precepts of) Hādamānsar into use, and (men) will act according to Hādamānsar.' 48.25, *ud dādīgīh ō kār gīrēd kār az dād kunēd.* And he (i.e. Hušēdarmāh) will bring (the legal precepts of) *Dādīg* into use: people will act according to the law.' See Williams 1990, II.228-9. Similarly *Avesta* is divided according to *gāhānīg, hada-mānsrīg,* and *dādīg* in *WZ* 28.1. Cf. *Dēnkard*VI.70, 206. See also *SBE* XXXVII.4 note 2; Molé 1963, 67; and Shaked 1969, 180.

36.27- This para. seems corrupted however, the idea seems to be clear. Perhaps a noun is missed between *pad* and *wuzurg* (?)

**wīdwarīh* [wytwlyh] 'contentment, resignation': this word has been studied by several scholars amongst them see Bailey 1934, 296-298; Dhabhar 1955, 155; Kanga 1960, 82; Mirza 1964, 156-168 and Nyberg 1974, 208. The word **wīd* occurs in most Persian Dictionaries to mean 'a little, few', cf. *BQ*.2297.

36.28- According to Manuščihr, since Ahreman put the creatures of Ohrmazd to death, killed the Unique Created ox and made Gayōmart mortal (*Dd*.36.33), Ohrmazd, by his great and marvellous mystery, gave a perpetual life to mankind. This was through family and offspring (*Dd*.36.29). Manuščihr's philosophical vision of life and death is to some extent different from the other Pahlavi texts. Cf. *Pahl.Riv*. 13a 8: '... when he [i.e. Ahriman] created death, man died; (this was advantageous) for it is clear (that) ... if people did not die of old age .... all the people would have struggled and fought all day long with one another, and they would have said this: 'If we are not going to die, then we need more wealth', ... and there would have been grievous harm for the existence of creatures.' See below *Dd*.36.30. Cf. also *Pahl.Riv*. 13b3; 36.5-12 and *WZ* 2.21, 22.

36.29- The passage is translated by Shaked 1969, 209.

**arg / harg* ['lg] 'work': cf. Arm. *erk*; see Bailey 1930, *JRAS*, 18. Henning 1940, 57; Pagliaro 1935. 293 (*RSO* vl. 15, pp. 275-315); Shaked 1979, 318.

36.30- Cf. *Pahl.Riv*.36.5-12 where the same account is occurred:

*36.5 ka zarduxšt az pēš ohrmazd be āmad be griyist u-š guft kū ohrmazd man a-marg be kun 36.8 ... ohrmazd xrad ī harwisp-āgāh abar ō zarduxšt burd 36.10 u-š dīd gyāg ī ōy kē a-marg būd u-š *andōhgēn ud pīmgēn sahist 36.11 u-š dīd gyāg ī ōy kē margōmand būd u-š frazand būd ud *rāmišnīhōmand ud šādīhōmand sahist 36.12 u-š pas be ō ohrmazd guft kū widerōmand<īh> *ā-m weh sahēd kū hamē-zīndagīh ud nēst-frazandīh.* 36.5 'When Zoroaster came before Ohrmazd he wept and said: O Ohrmazd, make me immortal!' 36.8 'And then Ohrmazd bestowed omniscient wisdom upon Zoroaster' 36.10 'And he, i.e. Zoroaster, saw the place of him who was immortal, and who had no children, and (such persons) appeared to him sad and sorrowful' 36.11 And he saw the place of him who was mortal, and who had children, and he appeared full of peace and joy' 36.12 And then he said to Ohrmazd: 'Transience, then, seems better to me than everlasting life and childlessness'. (Quoted from Williams 1990) See also Williams 1990, II.192, note 5. A parallel account is found in *ZWY* ch. 3 and *Sd.Bd.* ch. 36.

*ohrmazd *dīd* ..'meeting (?) Ohrmazd': presumably pointing to the consultation of Zoroaster with Ohrmazd. An alternative reading is *ohrmazd-*iz* (?) ... 'when even from Ohrmazd there came to him omniscient wisdom ...'

36.31- A transcription and translation of this para. is found in Shaked 1979, 238.

akōman ['kwmn'] 'Akōman': Av. *aka manah* 'bad thought', is an opponent to Wahman; see Gray 1928, 180. It is notable that the list of demons created by Ahreman and presented here is different to the list mentioned in *Gr.Bd*.TD1.14.15 and *WZ* 35.37 according to which Ahreman created Akōman, Sawar, Nānghait, Tarūmad, Tauriz, Zariz and then other demons against the creation of Ohrmazd. Cf. also *WZ* 35.37.

*but ī *but* [bwt' Y bwt'] 'The idol of Buddha': cf. *Gr.Bd*.TD1.158.5 *būt [ī] dēw ān kē-š pad hindugān paristēnd u-š waxš pad ān butīhā mehmān ciyōn bwt'sp *paristēnd.* 'The demon But whom they worship in India, and his soul resides in those Buds (whom) they

worship as Bodhisattvas'. Cf. *Dd.*76; *CPD*, 20 and Shaked 1979, 238.

zarmān [zlm'n'] 'Zarmān, demon of Old Age': cf. Williams 1990, II.123.

xešm ['yšm, hšm] 'Anger, the demon Wrath': is attested in the Avesta, for example in *Yt.*XI.15 or *Y.* LVII. 10. He is antagonist to Srōš 'obedience' by whom he will be seized, cf. *Gr.Bd.*TD1.39.17; cf. *Dd.*36.89 Comm; see for a full discussion on Gray 1928, 106; *Gr.Bd.*TD1. 39.12; cf. *Gr.Bd.*TD1.155.10; he will be destroyed by Srōš *Gr.Bd.* TD1. 196.8; cf. also *Dd.*36.31, 89, 101.

tangīh [tngyh] 'the demon of Scarcity'.

spuš [spwš] 'lice, louse': the same form occurs in *AWN* 34.3. Cf. Gignoux 1984, 34.3. *CPD*, 76 has the form *spiš* [spyš]; cf. NP *špiš*. Cf. *Vd.*17.3. For a discussion of this word and some other related animals cf. Skjærvø 1994, pp. 269-286.

36.32-33 A discussion of the attack of Ahreman on sky is found in Bailey 1971, 142.

36.34-36 A transcription and translation of this paragraph is found in Bailey 1971, 145.

36.35- Cf. Bailey 1971, 21, 41, 118 and 145 ; see also Zaehner 1955, 152, 156; and Shaked 1971, 89.

haspīhistan, haspīh-[hspyh-stn'] 'rest': a discussion about this verb is found in Zaehner 1937-39d, 901 and Shaked 1971, 89, note 4; cf. also *Dd.*36.17.

36.37- A discussion of gōhr 'substance' and its technical use is found in Bailey 1971, 90.

36.38- *astwihād* ['stwyd't'] 'Astwihād': Av. *astō.viδātu-* 'untying of life', cf. Barth. 214. He, who is also called *way ī wattar* is the demon of death (*Gr.Bd.* TD1, p. 39, 158). He casts a noose over the neck of the wicked (*Dd.*22.3; 36.93). He is said to be the first to attack Gayōmart (*Gr.Bd.* TD1. 37.13). Cf. also *Pahl.T.*41; *MX* I.115.

36.39- *Dd.*36.31-45 deals with Evil Spirit and his assistants and their duties against the creation of Ohrmazd and his angels (cf. above note 36.31). The names of demons and their functions, apart from the seven original demons opposed to seven Amahraspands, often vary on account of haplography in Pahlavi writings or perhaps because of different schools and commentators of the religion. Here is a list of demons and their function according to *Dd.*

Name	*Dd.*Ch.	Function
Ahreman	18.1 *passim*	against Ohrmazd
Akōman	36.31	cf. Comm. *Dd.*36.31
Arešk	36.42	envy
Astwihād	36.31	demon of death, cf. *Dd.*36.31 Comm.
Āz	36.39	to eradicate the power
Būšāsp	22.3 *passim*	demon of sloth
But	36.31	The idol Buddha (worshipped in India)
Kēn	36.42	hate
Mihōxt	36.41	the demon of falsehood
Nasuš	16.6, 7	demon of death
Niyāz	36.31, 40	moving clandestine
Sahm	36.40 *passim*	terrifying
Spazg	36.42	deceiving
Tab	36.39	a demon who disturbs the intelligence
Tangīh	36.31	demon of scarcity
Waran	36.42	self-indulgent
Wāy ī wad	29.4; 36.40	to separate the soul from the body
Xešm	36.31 *passim*	to provoke fights
Xīndagīh	36.40, 44	chilling the heat of the body
Zariz	36.40	poisoning foods
Zarmān	36.31, 40	destroy the body, stealing the power

būšāsp [bwš'sp] 'Būšāsp, the demon of sloth': <Av. *būšāystā-;* cf. Barth. 970. Cf. *Vd.* 7-15; 23-25; *Gr.Bd.*TD1.36.15; 39.12; 157.6; 169.3; *MX* 36.26; *Dd.* 22.3. See also Williams, A. V., '*Būšāsp*', in: *Encyclopædia Iranica*, IV, London and New York, 1990.

tab [tp] 'Tab, the demon of Fever': <Av. *tafnah-, tafnu-;* cf. Barth. 632.

āz ['c'] 'Āz, demon of greed, lust': <Av. *āzi-;* cf. Barth. 343.

ōgārdan ['wk'l-tn'] 'remove, expel': cf. *Pahl.T.*131.4; *DkM* 359.16, 18; Bailey 1971, 202, note 3; Zaehner 1955, 373; Shaked 1979, 263, note 120.3.

36.40- *zarmān* [zlm'n'] 'Zarmān, the demon of Old age': cf. *Gr.Bd.*TD1.157.3.

wattar way [SLYtl w'd] 'the demon Bad Way': <Av. vayu-; cf. Barth. 1357-8. He is called Astwihād in *Gr.Bd.*TD1.39.12; 158.7; separates the soul from the body, cf. *Gr.Bd.*TD1.158.7; *Dd.*29.4.

zariz / zaric [zlyc'] 'the demon Zariz': one of the main six demons created by Ahreman against Amurdād *Gr.Bd.*TD1.14.15; 39.17; puts

poison into the foods *Gr.Bd.*TD1.155.3; he will be destroyed by Amurdād *Gr.Bd.*TD1.195.12. Cf. also *WZ* 35.37.

niyāz [nyd'c] 'Niyāz, the demon of Need': cf. *Gr.Bd.*43.9.

sahm [shm] 'Sahm, demon of terror': cf. Bailey 1971, 130.

36.41- see also Bailey, 1933, 277.

36.42- **hāzēnīdan* [h'cyn-ytn'] 'convert, incite, persuade, guide': text gives [h'ctynytn']. It seems likely that the word was misunderstood by the scribes; and as result of haplography, the following emendations have been done in *Dd.*30.3, 20; 34.2 *hāzēd* [h'cyt'] for **ayābēd* ['y'pyt']; *Dd.*36.86 *h'ct'* for **h'cyt'*. *hāzišn* [h'cšn'] for **ayābišn* ['y'pšn']. Such haplography are also evident in *WZ* 3.4; 17.1 (in Ms. K); cf. also Zaehner, 1955, 298.

spazg [spzg] 'the demon Spazg': is a demon of slander as it is said in *Gr.Bd.* TD1.157.17 *spazg [ī] dēw ān kē saxwan āwarēd ud barēd.*

waran [wln'] 'Waran, demon of lust': is created by Ahreman from the substance of self-indulgence according to *Gr.Bd.*TD1.11.13 *gannāg mēnōg ... az stī [ī] xwad-dōšagīh waran [ī] wad [ī] nēst-kirb frāz kirrēnēd.* Cf. also ibid.157.5 where waran is called *a-rāh* 'erring'. See also *Dd.*36.31.

ahlaw-iz-dēnīh: An alternative reading is **ahlaw-candēnīh* 'turning towards righteousness'.

36.43- *frāhīdān* [pl'yyt'n] 'numerous, plentiful': cf. *frāhīd* or *frāyīd, frāy, frayist;* cf. Av. *fraēšta-*; Barth. 974.

36.44- **brāh* [bl'h] 'light, splendour, brilliance': cf. 38.20; **brāh:* 'light, brilliance'; Zaehner propose: *ras ī rōšnīgān* 'the light of the firmament'; cf. *WZ*, p. 173, note 7 and Shaked 1971, 99.

**hudāg* [hwd'k'] adj. 'good, beneficent': cf. *ŠnŠ* XV.9, 11; NP *huda / bīhuda. BQ.*IV.2317. Cf. also *wehān dāmān* 'good creatures' in next paragraph. Shaked 1971, 99 proposes *andak* 'meager'.

36.45- *wizāy* [wyz'd] 'harm, injury': cf. *pēš-wizāyīh* in para. 46 and *wizend,* NP *gazand.*

36.47- **zay* [zydȳ] 'instrument, weapon': text gives [zyd']. The fact that may confirm my reading is that there are other passages in our text that the word *zay / abzār* [Ar. *sel'h*] all meaning 'instrument, weapon' is used with *xrad.* Cf. for instance *Dd.*1.1; 36.37, 62. Cf. also 36.19: *abzār ī xrad* 1.2: *zēn ī druxtārīh* 1.2: *u-š zēn rāstīh.* Shaked suggests **zī* (?) 'reality' (?).

**pahrist* [phlyst'] 'index, table of contents, *comprehended (?)': cf. NP *fihrist* in *Loq.; BQ.*1509. Cf. also Ar. *fihris* 'index' as a Pahl. loan word.

**ayābišn* ['p̄'yšn'] 'to comprehend': is possible to be read *hāzišn* 'invert'; cf. Zaehner, 1955, 298.

36.48- *padisāy* [pts'd] 'subsequently' (lit. on account of, for the sake of). For a recent article on this word see Sims-Williams 1998, *Middle Persian padisāy and Old Persian vašnā,* In memory of Ahmad Tafazzoli, (forthcoming).

**an-ast* ['nAYT'] 'falsehood, non-existent': an alternative reading might be wanīhīd [w'nyhyt'] (?) 'conquer, destroy' from the base *wan-*, cf. *CPD*, 86.

36.50- *abar rasišn* [QDM lsšn'] 'attack, assault, arrive': cf. Dhabhar 1949, 162; Nyberg 1974, 167; Boyce 1977a, 79; see also *abar rasišnīh:* 2.13; 36.50.
One may read the final part of the sentence as: *u-š abar rasānīh ō ānābišn [ī] weh dahišn* 'and his attack is in order to frustrate the good creation'.

36.51- A transcription and translation of this para. is found in Molé 1959, 453 and Shaked 1971, 71. Cf. *Dd.*18.2 Comm.

36.52- *dahīg* [dhyk'] 'violent'. Prof. Shaked pointed out to me that the use of *dah-* in this phrase, although unattested, seems to belong to the well-attested noun *dahīg, dahīg-kārīh..* This word seems to be attested in Ardā Wirāz.1.1 and is read *yask* 'trouble' by Gignoux 1993, and *wišayg* by Vahman 1986.

36.55- *artēštār* ['ltyšt'l] 'warrior': text gives ['lt'] cf. *ardīg* 'battle'.

wisēnēd [wsynyt] 'throw, shoot': seems to be a caus. form of the vb. *wistan*, the present stem of the vb. has not however been explicitly established. Cf. Nyberg 1974, 215, **vind-*; *CPD*, 91, **wih-*.

bowandag-menišn [bwndk'-mnšn'] 'disciplined': cf. Dhabhar 1949, 68, who renders 'right-minded, perfect'; Nyberg 1974, 45; Shaked 1979, 322; 231, note 5.3; 252, note 78.7. The word also occurs in *MX* 1.68; 2.4, 8; 42.10 and *WZ* 35.47.

36.61- *tar-nigerišn* 'perverse': cf. *tar-menišn* 'perverse': in *CPD*, 82, and Shaked 231, note 5.3.

**a-rāh* ['-l's] 'straying': cf. *abē-rāh* 'erring', *CPD*, 3, NP *bī-rāh* 'id.'; in *Gr.Bd.*TD1.157.5 the demon Waran is called *a-rāh*. Cf. also Kreyenbroek 1985, 100, note 5.5. However the text gives *a-rāy* ['l'y] which, as Prof. Shaked pointed out to me, is probably a legitimate word meaning 'senseless, having no reason'.

36.62- *xrad* [hlt'] 'wisdom' here is comparable to *Dd*.Int.1; 36.47. For discussion of *xrad*, which has a prominent role in Zoroastrian thought, see Shaked 1979, 229 note 2.4.

ham-zōr [hm-zwl] 'associate' cf. *WZ* 3.11; 4.1; 30.43.

36.63- **ānāft-zōrīh* ['n'pt-zwlyh] 'weakened power' seems to be the opposite compound of *ham-zōrīh* 'fellowship, association' in para. 62, and similar to **an-āgnēn-zōrīh*. Text gives [wyn'pt' zwlyh]; another alternative reading of this word seems to be *wināft-zōrīh* 'contrary power' which is a Pazand form of Pahl. *wiguft* < *vi+gaob*; cf. *MX* 12.18.

36.65- If my translation of this paragraph is correct the words are not in the right order.

36.66- A translation and transcription of this para. is found in Molé 1963, 106.

wahišt ...: for a description of *wahišt* and *asmān* in various Pahl. texts cf. Bailey 1971, 120-147.

dast-grawīh [dstglwbyh] 'captivity': cf. *Dd*.18.2 Comm.

36.67- Cf. *WZ* 32.2, 3: *ciyōn jam abāz dārišnīh ī sahm ud tangīh <ud> sēj rāy ruwān ī ōy yazīhēd ud xwānīhēd pad abāz-ēstišnīh ... sahm ud sēj-iz ī nihān-rawišn. ēdōn-iz Frēdōn bastan ī Az ī Dahāg rāy xwānīhēd pad abāz-ēstišnīh ī āz-kardārān beš*. 'Just as on account of Jam restraining terror, distress, and danger, his soul is worshipped and will be called in order to restrain ... terror and also the danger whose movement is clandestine. Likewise Frēdōn will be called to capture Az ī Dahāg and to restrain the pain of *Āz kardārān*'. Cf. also Molé 1963, 107.

36.68- *nizdēn* [n(y)zdyn'] 'gloomy' (?); cf. NP nižd 'gloomy' *Loq*.

malhiy ud malhiyānē: see Christensen 1917, I.71-73; 76-85; 118-121; 124-130; 192-195; 198-205; II.109-111.

xwēdōdah [hwytwd't] 'kin-marriage': it has been studied by several scholars and among them the latest discussion belongs to Williams 1990, II.126-132 where he summarises various opinions of other scholars and concludes that, 'In sum *xwēdōdah* seems to have been part of a doctrine which was promulgated to strengthen the practice of endogamy and which was long consonant with a main current of Zoroastrian theology and social ethics, i.e. of containment of that which is pure and good within the bodily and spiritual confines of the community'. Shaked 1994, 60 argues that Ohrmazd is as the paradigm for the *xwēdōdah* since he has as his spouse Spandarmad, the earth, who was also his daughter. Cf. also *Dd*.76.

36.69- *uzīdan, uzīh-* ['wcytn] 'to depart, to go out': Av. *us+ay (i-)*; cf. Nyberg, 1974, 199. *uzīd* 'past'; cf. *MX* 36.23; Mprth. *'wzyh-*; cf. Henning 1933, 167.36; Boyce 1977, 19.

36.70- For the technical meaning of *gōhr* cf. Bailey 1971, 90.

36.71- Cf. Bailey 1971, 137, where the brightness of the sky is discussed. Cf. also *Pahl.Riv*.46.8.

36.72- *dādīh* [d'tyh] 'rule, law': cf. *ŠnŠ* 1.3; this word also attested in *DkM* 451, with the same meaning. Cf. *nē dādīh*, in *Dd*.36.73.

36.73- A discussion of *xwarrah* is found in Bailey 1971, 44.

36.75- Cf. Menasce 1945, 225 for a different reading and translation.

36.79- *pērōzīh ī ham-nērōgān*: see Zaehner 1937-39b, 317.

frazām-wišōbišnīh ... The final phrase can be alternatively be understood as follows: *[ī] frazām-wišōbišn [ud] xwadīh-wišōbišn* 'which is final destruction and self-destruction'.

36.80- *malkōs* [mlkws] 'Malkōs': <Av. *mahrkūša-*, from the root *marək* 'to kill'; cf. Barth. 1147. According to the Pahlavi books Malkōs is a demon from the race of Tūr ī Brādrēs, the killer of Zoroaster (*Gr.Bd*.TD1.187.13); he brings the most horrible cold, snow, and rain at the fourth (*Pahl. Riv*.48.10), or five century of Hušēdar (*DkM* 668.17), or at the end of Hušēdar's millennia (*Gr.Bd*.TD1.187.13). According to *Pahl.Vd*.II a secure fortress (*war*) or country (*būm*, cf.*Dd*.36.81 below) was already made by Jam in order to keep the best seeds of the creature during the rain and winter of Malkōs. For further detail see Pahl.Vd.II.22; *MX* 26.28; Boyce 1975, 290; Williams 1990, II.230, note 12 and p. 231, note 15.

grāyīh [gl'yh] 'difficulty, severity': cf. *Dd*.16.7 Comm.

36.81- *jam-kard-war*: see above 36.80; cf. also Bailey 1971, 222.
The last part of the sentence might be alternatively emended to: *ān owōn abdīhā abāz ārāstārīh ī gēhān abāz āmadan ī nōg mardōm ō *dādagān (text: d't''n') [ī] *pēšēn (text: pyšk') bawēd ul āxēzišn ī ristān*. Therefore it means 'Such miraculous restoration of the world and the coming of the new men (in place of) the former creatures is (a kind of) rising up of the dead (i. e. The Resurrection).

36.83- Cf. Molé 1963, 439.

**uspurrīh* ['wspwlyh] 'perfection'. Alternatively it can be emended to **wīdwarīh* 'satisfaction'.

36.84- Cf. Molé 1967, 226 and Kanga 1983, 122; cf. Williams 1990, II.166, note 47.

dahāk [dh'k'] 'Dahāk': an exhaustive discussion of Dahāk is found in Skjærvø 1989, 191-199 according to which in *Dd*.71.77 Dahāk is provided with a mother (*dag / Wadag*), who is the embodiment of evil and sinfulness. *Dd*.71.77 appears to have preserved two more old epithets of *Azi sruuara* no longer found in the *Avesta*. As to the etymology of Dahāk, Skjærvø points out that 'Azi Dahāka ... was as a monster with three mouths *θrizafanəm*), three heads (*θrikamarəm*), six eyes (*xšuuaš.ašīm*), with a thousand wiles (*hazaŋrā.yaoxštīm*) ...'. Moreover, it is not clear whether he was originally considered as a human in dragon-shape or a dragon in man-shape. Skjærvø in his discussion (ibid. p. 194) does not agree with Schwartz (*Orientalia* 49, 123 ff.) who explains the epithet *dahāka-* as man (-like), and for the meaning compares to Khotanese *daha-* 'male', Wakhi *dāi* 'man' and translates Azi-dahāka as 'the hominoi serpent, the snake-man'.

Sām(ān) [s'm'n'] 'Sām(ān)': cf. *Dd*.35.3 Comm.

gāwsar [g'wsl] 'gāwsar, a club that bears the figure of an ox's head on the top'. Cf. *BQ* 1769.

36.85- **frašaw-* [plšw-] 'proceed' *fra+šaw-*.

36.86- *hadayōš* 'Hadayōš': the name of mythical bull who is said to be sacrificed at the time of renovation in order to make *anōš* (the elixir of immortality); it is called also *ēkdād* (unique) on which see West, *SBE*. 18. Cf. also *Dd*.36.100; 47.34; 89.4; *WZ* 178, note 15.

hōm ī spēd...cf. Bailey 1971, 42.

**frāšm* [pl'šm] 'brightness, glow': cf. *Dd*.1.12 Comm.

frāhīd [pl'yyt'n] 'numerous, plentiful': see *Dd*.36.43 Comm.

36.88- See Zaehner, *BSOAS*, (9), 319.

36.89- *xurdruš* [hwldlwš] 'of the bloody club': <Av. *xrwidruš-;* epithet of the demon Xešm according to *Yt*.19.92-96. It was later misinterpreted as **ul-drafš* '*with raised banner', cf. *CPD*, 94; cf.*Dd*.36.31 Comm.

36.90- *jūdārīh* [ywt'lyh] 'devouring, (daevic) eating': from the infinitive *jūdan, jōy-* cf. *CPD*, 47, and Zaehner 1955, 166; cf. also Kanga 1964, 139. See also *WZ* 1.30; 34.35. The word *judan, jawīdan,* also means 'speak', cf. Dehxoda, BQ.562; MacKenzie 1971, 25 records *dawīdan* 'speak'!

36.93- Cf. *Dd*. 22.3; 36.51.

**rasišn az pas* ... an alternative reading is *pad *wisinišn* (?) *az pas* ... 'by cutting them subsequently off (from life)'.

36.96- Cf. *Gr.Bd*.TD1.192.16 *ciyōn gōwēd kū pad ān rōz ka ahlaw az druwand judāg bawēnd har(w) ars tā zang pad-iš frōd āyēd ... pādifrāh ēwēnag widarēnd ēc mardōm nē widarēd tišrām xšafnām (3 šabag) gōwēnd*. Cf. also *AWN* 16.2-7.

3 rōz ...: The reason for being tested by the molten metal for three days is apparently due to the three evil principles of bad thoughts, bad words, and bad action of the sinners. Cf. *WZ* 35.44 *druwandān pad jumbēnišn ī tāg ō dušox ōftēnd pad se dar frōd ōftēnd ... pad dušmat duš-hūxt dušxwaršt ō dušox šawēnd se rōzag-šabān*. 'By shaking of the branches, the wicked will fall into hell. They will fall into three gates ... they will go to hell in three days and nights through (their) bad thoughts, bad words, and bad actions'.

**rānēnīdan, rānēn-* [l'nyn-ytn'] 'shed, drive, move': cf. *WZ* 3.16, 17; 34.52; Nyberg 1974, 166. *WZ* 34.52 has a different story.

wēxtan, wēz-[wyhtn', wyc-] 'distinguish, separate': *~ēnīhist;* cf. NP *bīxtan*.

36.97- Cf. *Dd*. 18.5; if the translation is correct, there are likely allusions to Mysticism; a probable Zoroastrian transmission into Islam or vice versa.

36.99- Cf. Bailey 1971, 145 for a discussion of the enclosure of sky.

rānišn [l'nšn'] 'fighting' cf. MMP. *rān-* in *CPD*, 70. the word also means 'leadership' from the verb *rāndan* 'lead, drive'.

36.100- Cf. Bailey 1971, 145.

ušdāštār ['wšd'št'l] 'Ušdāštār, protector of dawn': <Av. *uši.darəna,* cf. Barth. 416; this mountain is described in the Avesta as *aša.xwāθra-* 'having comfort from Aša'. It is a branch of the Alburz (*Gr.Bd*.IX.3) and is located in Sistan (*Gr.Bd*.IX.18); and also called *uši.dam-* in the *Avesta*, cf. Barth. 416. It seems likely that there might be a connection between Ušdāštār and the mount Xwājeh in Sistan. See *Yt*.19.2; *Dd*. 36.100 cf. Dd.29.2 Comm. Williams 1990, II.253, note2 quotes Mirza's opinion about *gil ī ušdāštār* that it should be read as *gar ī ušdāštār* meaning the mount of Ušdāštār. This proposal does not seem to be likely for there are similar statements concerning the creating of the body of man from *gil* 'clay' in Pahlavi texts, cf. for example *WZ* 35.50 *ahlawān-iz abāz ō zamīg āyēnd ud nē pad ān {ī} cihrag ī ka be widard hēnd ud nē az ān āmēzišn ī ka pēš passāzīhist be rōšn gil ī <be> az tārīgīh āb ī be az zahr ud ādur ī be az dūd ud hu-bōy wād purr-drodīh passāxtag bawānd tanōmandān*. 'Les sauvés aussi reviendront sur la terre, mais non selon l'apparence sous laquelle ils sont morts, et non d'après la composition selon laquelle ils furent fabriqués auparavant, mais ils seront faits corporels en argile lumineuse sans ténèbres, en eau sans poison, en feu sans fumée, en air

parfumé et plein de paix.' *Gr.Bd.*TD1.19.15 *u-š Gayōmart abāg gāw az zamīg brēhēnīd* 'He created Gayōmart and Cow from the earth'. Cf. also *WZ* 29.1; *Pahl.Riv.*46.36; 48.55 *u-š mardōm az ān gil kē-š Gayōmart az-iš kard* ... 'And he made man from that clay from which Gayōmart (was made)'. Furthermore the word *gil* is written with ideogram *TYNA* both here and in *Gr.Bd.* hence it can not happen merely on account of haplography. The same problem is with a passage in *DKM* 816.5 ff. in which the *xwarrah* of Kāyus appears to be in the form of *TYNA*, cf. Bailey 1971, 29. In sum there are quite different statements about the creation of man in the Pahlavi Literature, cf. the myth of Malhiy and Malhiyānē here in *Dd.*36.68, the myth of creation of the body from metal in *Gr.Bd.*TD1.57.1 *ciyōn tan ī gayōmart az ayōxšust kard ēstēd az tan ī gayōmart 7 ēwēnag ayōxšust ō paydāgīh mad.* 'As the body of Gayōmart was created from metal seven kinds of metal is derived from his body', and the creation of man from himself *Gr.Bd.*TD1.11.3 *ohrmazd az ān ī xwēš xwadīh az gētīg rōšnīh kirb ī dāmān ī ... xwēš frāz brēhēnīd* 'Ohrmazd created the bodies of his creatures from the existence of himself'. Among these different reports, the idea of Malhiy and Malhiyānē seems to be more primitive. There is no reason to ignore the idea of creating of body of man from clay; however, this is contradictory to the primitive idea of creation among the Zoroastrians. In my opinion it is possible to state that there was a tendency for the Zoroastrian authorities to conform the idea of creation with the idea of other dominated religions during the 8-9 centuries.

pādār [p'tʼl] 'protector': MMP. *p'd'r;* cf. Boyce, 1977, 66.

hadayōš 'Hadayōš': cf. *Dd.*36.86 Comm.

36.101- A translation of this para. is found in Zaehner, 1961, 320.

angramanīh ['nglmnyh] 'devilish': cf. *Dd.*36.11 Comm.

36.102- Cf. Shaked 1974b, 243.

36.104- Cf. *Dd.*1.12. The full accounts of the events at the time of *fraš(a)gird* are given in *Gr.Bd.*TD1.189.11 ff.; *WZ* 34 ff. A translation of this para. is found in Zaehner 1961, 320; Bailey 1971, 116; and Shaked 1974b, 253.

36.106- *āhanjīdag* 'one who is pulled or drawn, one who is led'.

36.107- In a treatise named *Kholāseh-i Dīn* by Dastur Dārāb Pāhlan, cf. Modi 1924, 86, there is a chapter called 'Hundred Names of God' in which some names of the Creator are mentioned as follow: *Ādarbād-gar* 'the cooler of Heat, lit., one who makes (i.e., turns fire or) heat into wind, i.e., cools heat.' *Āzar-nam-gar* 'The Creator of the heat of moisture. He has created the Fire (heat) which exists in atmosphere and which is called 'Urvāzisht'. With its help rain falls on this earth.' *Bād-ādar-gar* 'The Creator of (currents of) air from heat.' *Bād namgar* 'The Creator of the air (or vapour) of Moisture.' *Bād-gul-gar* 'The Creator of the Atmosphere of Flowers. He creates in the spring fresh roses, sweet basil, and green herbs.' (note: Kanga reads the word [*gul* as]'*gel*' and takes it for clay or earth. But the explanation of Dārāb Pāhlan shows that the word is *gul* not *gel.*) *Gil Ādar-gar* 'The Creator of Fire from Earth. This is another name of the Eternal God. He burns (i.e., creates) fire from His earth.' *Gil namgar* 'The Creator of Moisture from earth'.

36.109- *gaš-* [gš-] 'be glad': is attested in Parth. see Boyce 1977a, 42. Cf. the NP *kaš* / *gaš* / *gašī* in *BQ* 1818, 1821.

PURSIŠN 38

See the Pahlavi text Cim ī kustīg or Pus ī dānišn-kāmag.

38.1- *kustīg* [kwstyk] 'sacred girdle or belt': Av. *yāh* / *aiwiyāŋhana;* cf. NP *kustī, kuštī.* Its equivalent is *ēbyānhan* cf. note 38.15 below, and parwand *ŠnŠ* 4.1; see 38.14 below. Its wearing is a sign of membership of the Zoroastrian religion and service to God. According to *DkM* 496 wearing the sacred girdle is this: when one is separated from the wicked. As to the symbolism of *kustīg*, Boyce 1996, 257 ff. suggests that 'it is likely that the three coils were exemplifying the three-fold ethic of Zoroastrianism, and designed therefore to concentrate the wearer's thoughts on the practice of his faith'. Williams 1990, II.143 notes that 'just as the seamless garment of the crucified Jesus has been interpreted as a being symbolic of the Christian church's unity, so the Zoroastrian sacred shirt is a token of the integrity of the Iranian religion.' Furthermore, there is such a close relation between Zoroastrian *sudra* / *kustīg* and dervishes' cloak that one may suggest that the Iranian continued their ceremony of wearing *kustīg* among the mystic ceremony of wearing a cloak. Cf. also *Dd.*39.2. On a detailed discussion about *kustīg* see Modi 1922, 183-190; de Menasce 1967, 17. See also *Pers.Riv.* 23 ff. and 547-8.

38.2- Cf. *Sd.N.*10.1, 2 This, that is incumbent on all those of the Good Religion, women and men, every one who attains to fifteen years, to wear the ... girdle. Because the ... girdle is to be a girding of the loins and to preserve obedience to the Lord, may he be honoured and glorified! Cf. also *Sd.Bd.*60.1.

38.7- *šēd* [šyt'] 'brightness': alternatively it can be emended to **yazad* 'God'.

kardag [krtk'] 'practice': cf. *pad kardag dāštan* 'to put into practice', cf. *ŠnŠ* 12.1, 32.

38.12- Cf. *Sd.N.*10.9-14 And those four knots, with which they tie it [i.e. *kustīg*] on, are on this account, that it may give four attestations. The first knot is that which preserves constancy ...

38.13- Molé 1963, 410-411 has a translation and transcription of the text from this point to para. 19.

38.14- As it is evident from the passage one significant symbolic meaning of *kustīg* is its function as a guard for the creation of Ohrmazd cf. *Dd.*36.35. In *Gr.Bd.*TD1.58.5 it is said that during the assault of Ahreman on the creation the Glory of the Good Religion of Mazda worshippers like a bright *kustīg*, adorned with stars, was guarding the sky: *ciyōn gōwēd kū xwarrah ī weh-dēn ī māzdesnān pad ēbyānghan homānāg ī ast kustīg homānāg star-pēsīd ī mēnōgān tāšīd 3 tāg pad 4 grih pērāmōn ī asmān be dāšt.* The similar statement is found in *Gr.Bd.*TD1.164.13 where moreover *kustīg* is likened to man.

parwand [plwnd] 'belt, girdle': cf. 38.1 above; Zaehner 1955, 208; Bailey 1974, 145; Shaked 1979, 261, note 109.1.

38.15- Cf. *Y.* 9.26; *Gr.Bd.*TD1.164.13.

ēbyānhan ['ypy'nghn'] 'girdle': Av. *aiwyāŋhana-*, see 38.1 above.

ēbyāstan ['ypy'stn'] 'to gird, begird' is an Avestan loan word from *aiwi + yāngha*, cf. *Pahl.Y. Gloss.*21, and Molé 1963, 411.

38.18- *dēn-burdār* [dyn-bwlt'l] 'faithful, upholder of religion, one who is responsible for the religion': cf. *Dd.*3.4; 36.26.

38.19- A similar story about Jam is in *Pahl.Riv.*31.a.8-10 when Zoroaster consults Ohrmazd. *Zardušt guft kū-š cē kard jam ī wiwanghān kē-š dādestān ēdōn wad. ohrmazd guft kū-m nazdist az gētīgān im dēn ō jam nimūd ka-š dānāgtar abāyist būd be ō rāh ī ahreman ud dēwān ēstād. u-š guft kū āb man dād zamīg man dād urwar man dād ... u-š ēdōn drō guft kū hilišn ēd kū ōy dād bē ēd kū ciyōn dād ēstēd *ā-š nē dānist ud pad ān drō gōwišnīh ā-š xwarrah ud xwadāyīh aziš appār būd u-š tan be ō wišōbišn ī dast ī dēwān mad.* 'Zoroaster said: 'What did Jam son of Wiwanghān do for which the judgment (is) so severe?' Ohrmazd said; 'I showed this religion first to Jam of (all) worldlings: when it was necessary for him to be wiser, he stood on the path of Ahriman and the demons. 'And he [i.e. Jam] said: 'I created the waters, I created the earth, I created the plants, ... And he uttered lies such as must be rejected, such as that he created (the world). But how he created, this he did not know. And through that false speech, his glory and lordship were then taken away from him, and his body fell into destruction at the hands of the demons'. (Quoted from Williams 1990). Cf. below 38.23; *Sd.Bd.*31.

38.20- **brāh* [bl'h] 'splendour, brilliance'. If the emendation is correct it seems that the scribe(s) did not understand the word both here and in *Dd.*36.44.

38.21- *pasēnīgān* 'those who come after him' might be taken to mean 'posterities', cf. *pēšēnīgān.*

38.22- *kūs* [kws] 'direction, side' is probably the MMP form of Pahl. *kūst* (?) Cf. Boyce 1977, 53.

38.23- *hspyh'n* (?) It might be possible to take the word from the base *haspīh-* 'rest'(?) See Dd.38.22.

38.24- Cf. *Pahl.Vd.* 18.8; Zaehner *BSOAS*, 9, 318.

PURSIŠN 39

39.1- For a discussion on *wāz* and *drōn* see Dd.27.1 Comm. and below note 39.4.

*cim ī *māwāg* [c(y)m Y m'w'k'] 'the reason for mumbling' (i.e. reciting inarticulately). Cf. Modi 1937. See Boyce and Kotwal 1971, 71-73; cf. also Nērangestān I, 2.3.

39.2- Wahman was the first creation among the seven Amahraspands according to *Gr.Bd.*TD1.13.11.

Likewise the sacred shirt (*sudra*) is called The garment of Wahman in *Dd.*38. 22. See also West 1882, 133, note 3.

39.3- *wišād-dwārišnīh* [wš't' dwb'lšnyh] 'going about open, running (with the *kustīg*) untied': the punishment for this sin is described in *ŠnŠ* IV, 8-10; *Pahl.Riv.*11.1 and *Pahl.Vd.*18.55 according to which whoever is over fifteen years of age and walks without a *kustīg* or shirt for the first three steps it is a *srōšōcaranam* which is a venial sin, but becomes a *tanāpuhl* after the fourth step, for which there is no forgiveness, cf. West 1882, 134, note 2.

39.4- *wāz* [w'c]: primarily means 'utterance of consecration', Parth. *wāj*, NP *bāj*, OIr. *wak-* 'word, speech'. According to Tavadia *ŠnŠ* 9.12, note 20 *wāz* is a 'particular essential formula' which precedes, accompanies, or follows an action. The *yašt ī darōn* was said as a service in its own right as a *bāj ī nān xwardan* '*baj* for eating bread' in which silence was maintained until the concluding *bāj* was spoken after the meal, if any other speech was necessary it was uttered with

closed lips (Pahl. *māwāg*, NP *basta)*. It is notable that when one is reciting the *gāhān* it is not necessary for him to chant the *bāj* at the same time before meal, see West 1882, 134, note 3.

39.7- *dandān-frēš* [dnd'n'-plyš'] 'toothpick': or *dandān-frašn;* possibly the same word as *fraš* 'spear' cf. Goldziher 1900; and Shaked 1995, XII.149, note 35; Kotwal 1969, 135.

39.10-13- See *Pahl.Riv.* chapter 3.

39.14- *haspīn* 'rest': cf. *Dd.* 36.17; cf. also Bailey 1934, 146; Zaehner 1937, 894.

39.17- *be ka* [BRA AMT] 'unless, otherwise': cf. Brunner 1977, 251.

PURSIŠN 40

40.1- *an-ēr* ['n'yl] 'non-Iranian (religion)': cf. Shaked 1979, 317, note 246. Bad faith or non-Iranian religions is held to be a *marg-arzān* sin in Zoroastrian religion a list of which is found in *MX* 36.13; *Pahl.Riv.*41.1 *Sd.Bd.*and *Per.Riv.*286-7.

Cf. *AWN* ch. 47: *(1) u-m dīd vas mardōm kē-šān sar ud rēš avestardag ud gōnag zard ud hamāg tan pūdag ud xrafstar [padiš] hamē raft (2) u-m pursīd kū ēn kē [ud] kadām hēnd (3) gōvēd srōš ahlav ud ādur yazd kū ēn ruvān ī awēšān mardōmān kē-šān pad gētīg ahlomōγ ī frēftār būd hēnd ud mardōmān hamē murnjēnīd ud az dād ī vehīh be ō dād ī vattarīh āvurd ud vas kēš ud vurrōyišn ī abārōn andar gēhān ravāg kard* '(1) I saw many people whose heads and beards were shaved and their faces were pale, and the whole body rotten, and noxious creatures were creeping over them. (2) I asked: "who and what are these?" (3) Srōš the righteous and the Ādur *yazd* said: "these are the souls of those people who have been heretic deceivers in the world, and men were ever destroyed by them and led from the good religion to the bad religion; and many wrong faiths and beliefs were made current in the world."' (Transcription is quoted from Gignoux 1984).

abāz stāyīdan [LAWHL st'ytn'] 'repudiate, renounce' cf. Av. *apa-stav-*.

nakkīrāyīh [nkyl'y] 'repudiating, denying' cf. Paz. *nigerāe;* with a Middle Persian participle adjective *-ay*, is a loan word from Aramaic, a form *nkr* 'to repudiate'; cf. Henning 1946, 732. The word is also attested in *MX* 36.13; *Pahl.Riv.*41.1.

40.2- The same punishment is mentioned in *Pahl.Riv.*7.2 for the person who is converted: *kē az dād ī-š andar ēstēd be ō dād ī dudīgar šawēd margarzān ēd rāy kū dād ī weh-dēnīh be hamē hilēd ud *ēn dād ī wad hamē gīrēd dād ī wattar grift rāy ēd rāy margarzān hamē bawēnd* '(When) someone goes over from the (religious) law to which he belongs to another law (he is) margarzān, because he is deserting the law of the Good Religion, and he is taking up this bad law; on account of taking up the worse law they are thereby always margarzān' (Williams 1990).

As Williams 1990, II.125 has pointed out, this evidence illuminates the strong challenges between the Mazdean faith and other religions as Christianity, Manichaeism and Islam. Williams (ibid) states that 'However, whereas capital punishment for apostasy could have been enforced in Sasanian times, through inquisitions, as recorded in Persian Christian martyrologies, [later] when forcible conversion to Islam was commonplace, the Zoroastrian rule of *margarzān* would not have been applied. The NP Rivāyats later record that suicide was recommended (itself ordinarily a *margarzān* sin) for those threatened with forcible conversion to Islam'. Hence it is said in *Pers.Riv.* 275 that 'If a person (of a foreign faith) exercises tyranny over a man of the Good Religion and tells him to turn Musalman with his family, then out of helplessness he should commit suicide but he should not turn Musalman'. While to the question of whether one of a foreign faith can become a Behdin (i.e. be converted to the Mazdayasnian religion), it states (ibid.) that 'If they observe the rules of religion steadfastly and (keep) connection with the religion, and if no harm comes to the Behdins (thereby), it is proper and allowable'.

dād 'religion, believe': cf. *frārōn-dād* 'of the good religion', *abārōn-dād* 'of the evil religion' in para. 4 and its synonym *abārōn-dēnīh* 'heresy, improper judgment' in *Dd.*24.6. See also *Dd.*12.4, 5.

40.4- Cf. Zaehner, 1955, 261, for different reading and translation. See also Asmussen, 1965, 59.

dast pad dast 'continuously, constantly': cf. NP *dast be dast,* with the same meaning; cf. also Dhabhar, 1955, 864, note 3.

40.5- *grāy* [gl'y] 'tendency'. I take this present stem for *grāyišn* (?) on account of the fact that the usage of present stem as verbal noun is common in Persian, cf. *xur* for *xurdan* or *xuriš,* in *xur u xāb*; *gīr* for *gīrišn* in *girift u gīr*. Cf. **ōgrā* ['wgl'y] 'declination, dip' in *CPD*, 61.

kār-framān 'authority, intendant' occurs in *WZ* 30.28 with the same meaning; *tuwān kār-framān* 'able authority'; cf. NP *kār-farmā* 'intendant'.

abar ēstišnīg 'agree': (=*ham-dādestān*); cf. Gignoux and Tafazzoli, 1993, 145, note 11; cf. also *Gr.Bd.*I.27.

40.6- *spayeiti*: is an Avestan technical term used for 'eradication (of sins)' from *spā-*, *spaya-* 'wegwerfen, wegschaffen, tilgen' cf. Barth. 1615-1616. It is also attested in *Vd*.III.42: '... this is evident from the Avestā: '*spayēitē*' is indeed necessary for every person; it is verily for every sin ... '. According to *Vd*.III.41 many sins can be eradicated. Cf. *Nēr*.12.2.

40.8- The quotation is quoted from *Pahl.Vd*.V.61.

40.9- Cf. *Vd*.III.42: '... even in-spite of this that '*spayēitē*' is a good thing, even-then unsinfulness is better'.

GLOSSARY

[Where a reference number is printed in **Bold** the word in question is discussed in the Commentary]

- a -

ā ['] part. 'then' often introducing main clause after rel. or temp. clause, 39.7; also with encl. pron. suffix ~m: Int.9; ~š: 2.13; 36.12, 37; 38.21; 40.6, 8; ~šān: 29.3; 36.1, 109

āb [MY', 'p̄] n. 'water' 16.13; 17.3; 21.1; 30.5; 36.100, 107; 39.7; ~ān: 30.17; 36.109; ~ōmand: 17.2

ābādīh ['p̄'tyh] n. 'prosperity' 2.14

abāg [LWTE] prep. 'with' Int.5, 27; 2.9, 11, 17; 7.6; 11.2; 14.3; 15.2, 3, 4, 5, 6; 16.9; 19.4; 22.3; 23.4, 5, 6; 24.5; 28.1, 2; 29.2; 30.2, 18; 31.4, 12; 35.3; 36.2, 13, 28, 31, 40, 41, 80; 38.6, 10, 21, 22, 26, 30; ~īh: 36.17; 38.29; abāg-iz: Int.8; abāg-išān: 40.2

abāgēnīdan, abāgēn- ['p̄'kyn-ytn'] vb. 'accompany'; ~ē: 6.8

a-band ['bnd] adj. 'without a belt' 38.31

a-bandagīhā ['bndkyh'] adv. 'depart from service' 38.11; see also bandag

[1]abar [QDM, 'p̄l] prep., adv., prevb. 'up, on, over, concerning' Int.4, 6, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25; 1.2; 2.13; 3.2, 4; 4.3, 4; 5.2; 12.3; 13.1, 2, 3; 14.2, 4; 15.3, 5; 16.5; 6, 12, 13, 14; 18.5; 20.8; 21.2, 3, 5; 22.2; 23.2, 3, 5; 24.2, 3; 26.6, 7; 27.2, 3; 28.2; 30.1, 4, 9; 31.1, 9; 31.11; 33.2; 35.2; 36.2, 15, 26, 30, 34, 45, 47, 50, 51, 54, 55, 68, 69, 73, 79, 84, 88, 94, 99, 107; 38.5, 11, 20, 21, 22, 25, 30; 39.11, 17; 40.1, 5; ~īh: 38.28; abar-iz: 6.4; abar-iš: 21.3

[2]abar ['p̄l] adj. 'superior to' 2,12; 17.3; 18.4; 38.27; ~īh: 38.28; see also abarīg

abardar ['p̄ltl] adj. 'higher, superior' 1.5; 21.3

abardom ['p̄ltwm] adj. 'highest, superior' 2.12, 13; 6.5; 25.3; 30.17; 31.10; 32.6; 36.10, 16, 29, 30, 34, 47; 38.5, 17, 19; ~īh: 36.21

abar-ēstišn [QDM-'stšn'] n. 'superior existence' **2.12**

abārīg ['p̄'ryk'] adj. 'other' H.; Int.7, 8; 4.1; 11.2; 15.7; 26.8; 27.5; 30.17; 31.4; 35.3; 36.14, 34, 42, 43, 67, 109; 38.6, 7; ~ān: 15.2; 27.7; 30.17; 36.85

abarīg ['p̄lyg] adj. 'superior, good' Int.11; 11.2; ~ān: 15.2; 40.6; ~tom: 38.18

ābārīhistan, ābārīh- ['p̄'lyhstn'] vb. 'to take away'; ~ēd: **9.2**

abar-kār ['p̄lk'l] adj. 'important, (one who performs) superior works' **36.26**

abārōn ['p̄'lwn'] adj. 'wrong, sinful' 24.6; 36.42; 40.2; ~īh: 5.6; 40.3; ~īhā: 5.7; 40.5

abārōn-dād [~-d't'] n. 'improper judgment, of evil religion' 12.5; ~īh: 40.4

abārōn-dēnīh [~-dynyh] n. 'heresy' 24.6

abārōn-nām-ārzōgīh [~-n'm'lcwkyh] n. 'desire for notoriety' 36.42

abar rasišn [QDM lsšn] n. 'attack, assault'; ~īg: **36.50**; īh: 2.13; 36.50

abarwēz ['p̄lwyc] adj. 'victorious' 36.54; ~īh: 36.13, 51, 79; see also spurr-abarwēzīhā

abaxšāyišnēnāg ['p̄hš'dyšnyn'k'] adj. 'asking for forgiveness' 21.2

abāxtar ['p̄'htl] n. 'north' 32.6; ~īg: 32.6; ~īgīhā: **24.5**

a-baydāg ['pyt'k'] adj. 'invisible' 36.56

abāyistan, abāy- ['p̄'y-stn'] vb. 'wish, want; must' Int.9; ~ēd: Int.25; 2.1, 3, 19; 4.2, 3; 6.1, 5; 18.1; 27.2; 36.1, 14; 37.3; 38.24 ; 40.1; ~ēnd: 35.1

abāyišn ['p̄'yšn'] v. n. 'will, necessity, need' 1.2; 15.5, 6 ~īg:7.7; 30.2; 36.14; 38.31; ~īgān: 35.2; ~īgīhā: Int.14; 30.17; ~īgtar: 7.7; 27.2, 3; ~īgtom: 25.2; see also an-abāyistān, an-abāyišnīg

abāz [LAWHL, ᵓp'c] adv., prevb. 'back, again' 9.2; 15.3; 16.12, 13; 20.2, 7; 22.3; 31.5; 34.4; 36.3, 11, 13, 22, 29, 36, 46, 52, 53, 58, 67, 68, 81, 82, 94, 95, 99, 100; 38.19; 40.1, 5
abāz dārišnīh [~ d'lyšnyh] n. 'keeping away, restrain' 36.13, 46
abāz ēstēnīdan [~ ystynytn'] tr. vb. 'to stop, restrain'; ~ēstēnīdār: **36.22**
abāz kēnišnīh [~ kynyšnyh] n. 'taking revenge' 36.13
abāz passāxtan, passāz- [~ ps'htn', ps'c-] vb. 'reconstitute'; ~īhēnd 36.96
abāz stāyīdan [~ st'ytn'] vb. 'repudiate, renounce' 40.1
abāz zadār-dahīg [~ zd'l-dhyk'] adj. 'violent through smiting back' 36.52
abāz zanišnīh [~ znšnyh] n. 'smiting' 36.13, 58
abd ['p̄d] adj. 'wonderful, miraculous' 2.4; 35.2, 6; ~īh: 36.83; ~īhā: 36.82; see also abd-āfurišnīh; purr-abdīh
abd-āfurišnīh ['p̄d'p̄wlšnyh] n. 'wonderful creating' 2.5
abd-passaxt ['p̄dps'ht'] adj. 'wonderfully-constructed' 15.3, 5; ~īh: 36.2
abdom ['p̄dwm] adj. 'final, at last, at the end' 1.8; 3.3; 13.4; 15.6; 36.14, 53, 54; 40.4
abē-anāgīh ['p̄y'n'kyh] n. 'free from evil' 31.11
abē-bandīh ['p̄ybndyh] n. 'having no sacred cord' 38.24, 25
abē-bīm ['p̄ybym] adj. 'fearless' Int.14; ~īh: 25.6; 36.17; ~īhā: 36.66
abē-mardōm ['p̄ymltwm] adj. 'depopulated' 34.1, 2
abē-ranj ['p̄ylnc] adj. 'free from oppression, effortless' 36.108; ~īhā: 20.6
abēr ['p̄yl] adv. 'very, much, more'; ~tar: Int.23; 5.2, 3, 5; 6.7; 16.13; 38.18, 26, 32
abesīhēnīdan, abesīhēn- ['p̄shynytn'] vb. 'ruin, destroy' 36.8, 37, 69
abesīhēnišn ['p̄shynšn'] v. n. 'annililating' 36.45
abesīhīdan, abesīh- ['p̄s(y)h-ytn'] vb. 'be destroyed'; ~ēd: 36.11; 37.2; abesīhīd: 36.13; 38.20; ~ist: 36.101; see also an-abesīhišn; and: ~išnīh
abesīhīd-cārīh [~-c'lyh] n. 'destroyed means' 36.11
abesīhīd-frēbīhā [~- plypyh'] adv. 'perished deceit' 36.13
abespārdan, abespār- ['p̄sp'ltn', ᵓp̄sp'l-] vb. 'transmit, to give up, entrust, commit' 36.48; ~ēd: 22.3; abespārd: 36.39; see also an-ast-abespārdār
abestāg ['p̄st'k'] n. Avesta, the Mazdean scriptures' 38.22, 26, 31, 32
a-bēš ['byš] adj. 'free from suffering' 36.4, 100
abēzag ['p̄yck'] adj. 'pure, holy' 1.3,5,7,9,11; 2.13, 14, 15, 17; 3.2,4; 6.8; 30.20; 34.2; 35.5; 36.4, 13, 34, 35, 37, 73, 79, 86, 98; 38.15; 39.6; ~ān: 31.10; 36.17; ~īh: 36.16, 86; 38.17
abēzagīhīdan, abēzagīh- ['p̄yckyh-ytn] denom. trans. vb. 'clean, become pure'; ~ēd: 36.46
abēzag-menišnīh ['p̄yck' mynšnyh] n. 'pure meditation' 2.17
abgandan, abgan- [LMYTWN-tn, ᵓp̄kn-] vb. 'throw; cause, stretch'; ~ēd: 36.89; ~īhēnd: 36.99; abgand ēstēd: 20.2, bērōn abgandan 'cast out': 36.13
ābgar [MYA-gl] agent n. 'water maker, (one who) brings about water' 36.107
ābgēnag ['p̄kynk'] n. 'crystal'; ~ān: 30.17
a-bīm ['bym] adj. 'fearless' 31.11; 36.17
a-bowandagīhā ['bwndkyh'] adv. 'incompletely' Int.12
a-bowandag-nimūdārīh ['bwndk nmwt'lyh] n. 'incomplete guidance' Int.22
aboxšīdārīh ['p̄whšyt'lyh] n. 'forgiveness' 31.10
a-brādarōd ['bl'tlwt'] adj. 'unique, without rivalry' 6.2; 30.15; see also brādarōd: 1.11
a-brāh ['bl'h] adj. 'without glowing' 22.2

abrāz ['p̄l'c] adj. 'ascending, exaltation' 36.23; ~īg: 25.2
Abrehām ['blyh'm] proper n. 'Abrehām' 36.75
a-brīd ['blyt'] adj. 'unbroken' Int.27
a-brīn ['blyn'] adj. 'unlimited' 36.28
ābrōyīg ['p̄lwyk'] adj. 'honourable' Int.11
a-burd-šnōhr ['bwlt' šnwhl] adj. 'ungrateful' 4.4
abyōxtag ['pywhtk'] adj. 'contact' 15.2
abyōxtan, abyōz- ['p̄ywhtn, ᵓpywc-] vb. 'mix, join'; ~ēnd: 30.5; ~īd: 36.51; ~īhēd: 30.7; abyōxt: 30.17; 36.48; 38.31; abyōxtīhēd: 16.13
abzār ['p̄z'l] n. 'instrument, means; power, faculty' 35.2; 36.13, 19; ~ān: 2.13; 15.2; 22.3; 30.2,17; 36.11, 14, 31, 91, 99, 103; ~īh: 1.2; 2.17; ~ōmandīh: 1.4
abzār-xānag ['p̄z'l BYTA] n. 'treasury' 15.4
abzāyišn ['p̄z'dšn'] v. n. 'accruing, increase, growth' 9.2; ~īh: 14.2; ~īhā: 36.14
abzōn ['pzwn'] n. 'improve, increase' 7.4; 36.95; 37.2; ~īg: 27.7; 36.11, 68; ~īgīh: 36.69
abzōn-padēxīhā [~ptyhwyh'] adv. 'increasing prosperity' Int.3
abzūdan, abzāy- ['p̄zwtn', ᵓp̄z'd-] vb. 'increase, grow'; ~ēd: 8.4; 9.1; 10.1; 31.7; ~ēnīd: 36.68; ~ēnīdan: 36.40; abzūd: 36.69; abzīd ēstēd: 20.7
a-cafsišn ['c̱pšn'] adj, 'unbiased' **12.3**
a-carātīg ['cl'tyk] adj. 'shameless'(?), lit. 'not virgin'; ~ān: 31.4
a-carbišn ['clpšn'] adj. 'without fat, fat-free' 16.9
a-caxšišn ['chššn'] adj. 'without tasting' **30.11**
a-dādistānīhā ['d'tst'nyh'] adv. 'unlawfully' 36.45
a-dād-kōxšīdār ['d't'-kwhšyt'l] a. n. 'lawlessly striker' 36.13
a-dād-kōxšišn [~-kwhššn'] adj. 'lawlessly striking' 36.52
a-dānāg ['d'n'k'] adj. 'ignorant' 38.24
a-dard ['dlt'] adj. 'pain-free, free from distress' 31.11; 36.4
a-dēsīdag ['dysytk] adj. 'not built' 36.3
a-dōstīh ['dwstyh] n. 'dislike' 16.10
a-drō ['KDBA] adj. 'true' 38.10
ādūg ['twk'] adj. 'capable' 36.99; ~īh: Int.15, 25; 36.36
ādur ['twr'] n. 'fire'; ~ān: 30.17
Ādurmāh(ān) ['twr' m'h'n] proper n. 'Ādurmāh(ān)' H.
Ādurpād ['twr' p't'] proper n. 'Ādurpād' **36.26**
a-frazand ['prznd] adj. 'without children' 36.30; ~īhā: 36.30
āfrīdag ['p̄lytk] n. 'creature'; ~ān: 36.49
āfrīdan, āfrīn-, āfur- ['p̄lytn, ᵓp̄lyn-, ᵓp̄wl-] vb. 'bless; create'; ~īd: 2.4, 7; ~ēnīd: Int.3
āfrīn ['p̄lyn'] adj. 'blessing' Int.27
āfurīdan, āfur- ['p̄wl-ytn'] vb. 'create, produce' 2.6; ~āg: 2.5, 12; ~īhist: 2.9, 19; 3.4; 6.2; see also zāyišn-āfur
āfurišn ['p̄wlšn'] v. n. 'creation' 2.5; 34.2; 36.13; 38.7; ~īh: 2.5, 6; see also abd-~išnīh; bun-~išn; cimīg-~išnīh
āgāh ['k's] adj. 'aware, wise' Int.8; 2.16; 36.11;100, 106; 38.14; 39.2; ~īh: Int.13, 18; 39.12; ~īhā: Int.20, 22; 36.11; ~īh-šān: Int.24
āgāh-dārīh [~-d'lyh] n. 'enlightening, communication' 30.18; 39.16, 17
āgāhēnīdan ['k'syn-ytn'] vb. 'to inform' Int.26

agar [HT] conj. 'if' Int.10, 11, 21, 22, 25; 5.4; 7.2, 4, 5; 19.4; 23.4; 36.47, 53; with suffix pronoun ~-iš: 40.5
agār ['k'l] adj. 'inactive, ineffective, powerless' 15.2; 16.11; 22.3; ~īh: 22.3; 36.49, 97; ~īhā: 36.13, 99
agārēnīdan, agārēn- ['k'lyn-ytn'] vb. 'making powerless'; ~ēd:16.13; ~īd: 36.79; ~ īdār: 1.9
agārēnišnīh ['k'lynšnyh] n. 'powerlessness' 36.13
agārīhistan, agārīh- ['k'lyhstn'] vb. 'become powerless, making inactive, extinct'; ~ēd: 15.4; 36.65
ag-dēnīh ['kdynyh] n. 'heresy, infidelity' 1.11; 36.101
āgenēn ['knyn'] adv. 'together' Int.20; 1.2; 35.6; 36.53, 89; 39.11
a-gumān ['gwm'n'] adj. & n. 'certain, without doubt' 3.2; 36.56; 38.30
a-gumēzišn ['gwmycšn'] v. n. 'unmingled' 2.13
a-hamtāg ['hmt'k'] adj. & n. 'unique' 2.4
āhang ['hng] n. 'intention, incline' 38.31
āhanjīdag ['jncytk'] adj. '(one who is) pulled, drawn, led' 36.106
āhanjīdārīh ['hncyt'lyh] n. 'leadership' 36.106
ahlaw ['hlwb'] adj. 'righteous' Int.5; 1.1, 9, 19; 15.5; 16.6; 20.1; 21.1,3; 23.1; 30.17, 20; 31.11; 36.26, 30, 42, 66, 91, 100; 38.22; 40.8; ~ān: 1.3; 13.5; 14.4; 18.1, 5, 6; 19.1.4; 20.1, 4, 5, 6; 21.2, 4; 23.6; 30.1, 2, 8, 14; 31.13; 33.2; 36.14, 17, 25, 88, 89, 93; ~īh: 23.4, 6
ahlāyīh ['hl'dyh] n. 'righteousness' Int.5, 26; 3.4; 4.2; 13.3; 15.3, 5
ahlomōgīh ['hlmwkyh] n. 'heresy' 1.11
āhr ['hl] n. 'terror' 15.6
āhōg ['hwk'] n. 'blight, fault' 4.1; see also an-āhōg
āhōgēnīdan, āhōgēn- ['hwkyn-ytn'] denom. trans. vb. 'disturb, defile' ~īd: 36.28; see also an-āhōgēnīd
ahōš ['hwš] adj. 'immortal, deathless' 36.30; ~agīh: 36.85; ~īh: 36.100
Ahreman ['hlmn'] proper n. 'Ahreman' 18.1, 2, 5, 6; 26.7; 36.12, 46, 101; ~īh: 36.13
ajgahānīh ['šgh'nyh] n. 'indolence, laziness' 36.42
a-jomā-bēš ['ywm'y byš] adj. 'with no pain' 30.19; ~īh: 30.17
a-jomā-nēkīh ['ywm'y nykyh] n. 'with no goodness' 26.5
a-jumbāg ['ywmb'k] adj. 'motionless' 15.2; ~īhā: 36.99
a-jumbišn ['ywmbšn'] v. n. 'static' 2.13
a-kāhišn ['k'hšn'] v. n. 'without diminution' 25.5; ~īg: 30.18, 19
a-kam ['km] adj. 'perfect' 36.14
a-kām ['k'm] adj. 'undesired, dislike' 14.3; 38.30; ~agīhā: 31.5
a-kām-tazišnīhā ['k'm tcšnyh'] adv. 'with unwilling haste, unwillingly running' 20.7; 24.5
a-kanārag ['kn'lk'] adj. 'unlimited, boundless' 1.9; 6.2; 25.5,7; 30.18; 36.12, 14; 37.2; ~īh: 37.3; ~īhā: 36.100
a-kanārag-rawišnīh [~-lwšnyh] n. 'unlimited progress' 1.9
a-kanārag-zamānīhā [~-zm'nyh'] adv. 'with endless time' 36.12
a-kēnīh ['kynyh] n. 'lack of vengefulness' 36.13
Akōman ['kwmn'] proper n. 'Akōman' **36.31**, 41
a-kōxšišnīg ['kwhššn'] adj. 'one who does not fight' 36.54
Alburz ['lbwrc'] proper n. 'Alburz' 19.3; **20.2**
ālūdan, ālāy- ['lwtn', 'l'd-] vb. 'defile' : 39.6

ālūdagīh ['lwtkyh] n. 'contamination, impurity' 16.13; ~ā: 36.13
amā [LNE] pers. pron. 'we, us' Int.5, 20, 22; 36.49
āmadan, āy- [YATWN-tn'] vb. 'come'; ~ēd: 23.5; ~ēnd: 6.4; āmad hēm: Int.15
amahraspand ['mhrspnd] n. 'amahraspand, Blessed Immortal' 13.2; 30.3; ~ān: 28.2; 36.17
a-mar ['ml] adj. 'innumerous' 36.31
āmār ['m'l] n. 'reckoning, account' 7.4, 6; 11.2; 12.2, 3; 13.1, 2, 3; 15.3; 19.3; 21.2; 23.2, 5; 24.2, 5; 29.3; 30.1, 9, 10; 31.2; 36.98; 30.10; ~īh: 27.6 ; see also kard-āmārīh, rāst-āmār
āmārēnīdan, āmārēn- ['m'lynytn', 'm'lyn-] denom. vb. 'reckon, account' 13.2; ~ēd: 13.3
a-mārišn ['m'lšn'] v. n. 'without sensation' 15.2
amaragān ['mlk'n'] n. 'by and large, general' 38.23; ~īg: 38.8; ~īhā: 5.2, 4; 38.7
a-marg ['mlg] adj. 'immortal, deathless' 22.3; 31.11; 36.4, 100; ~ān: 36.93; ~īh: 35.7; 36.29, 85, 86; 38. 19
āmārgar ['m'lkl] a. n. 'accountant, one who performs the account' 13.3; 27.6
āmārīdan, āmār- ['m'lytn', 'm'l-] vb. 'reckon, account'; ~īhēd: 23.5; 27.6
āmārišn ['m'lšn'] v. n. 'reckoning' 30.13
amāwand ['m'wnd] adj. 'powerful'; ~īhā: 36.46; ~tar: 7.6
āmēxtag ['myhtk'] adj. 'mixed' 36.96; ~īh: 31.10; 36.103
a-mīrāg ['myl'k'] agent n. & adj. 'immortal' 36.76
āmurzīdan, āmurz- ['mwlc-ytn'] vb. 'forgive, mercy'; ~ēnd: 36.97; ~īd: 36.85; ~īhēnd: 31.10
āmurzišn ['mwlcšn'] v. n. 'forgivness, mercy' 18.6; 38.21; 40.5
ān [ZK, 'n] dem. pron. 'that' 11.1, 2, 3; 12.1; 13.1, 3, 4, 5, 6; 14.1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; 15.1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7; 16.1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14; 22.2, 3; 23.1, 24.1, 2; 25.1, 3, 5,7; 26.1, 5, 6,7; 27.1, 4, 6; 28.1, 2; 29.1, 3; 30.1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17; 31.1, 2, 6, 10, 12; 33.1, 2; 34.1, 3; 35.1, 2, 4, 6; 36.1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 11, 13, and passim; with adverbial enclitic ~-iz: Int.5, 22; 1.6; 5.7; 13.3; 16.1417.2; 30.7, 12, 14,17, 19, 20; 31.4, 5, 7, 9, 11; 32.1, 4, 6; 36.4 ; 36.18, 42, 65, 71, 80, 89, 96, 103; 38.14, 17; 39.2; and passim; also with encl. pron. suffix ~mān: Int.5; ān ī : that of; with a qualifier preceding a noun, equivalent to a following ī (e.g. ān ī ahlawān ruwān = ruwān ī ahlawān)
an-abāyist ['n'p̄'dst'] n. & adj. 'unworthy'; ~ān: 31.4
an-abāyišnīg ['n'p̄'yšnyk'] adj. 'unworthy' 36.45
an-abēdān ['n'p̄yt'n] adj. 'unwanted or useless'; ~tom: 26.2
an-abesīhišn ['n'p̄syhšn] v. n. 'imperishing' 25.5; ~īg: 30.19
ānābišn ['n'p̄šn'] v. n. 'expulsion, dispel, frustrate' 1.9; 2.8; ~īh: 36.50; see also purr-ānābišnīhā
ānābtagīhā ['n'p̄tkyh'] adv. 'dispelling' **2.8**
anābuhl ['n'p̄whl] adj. 'one who is not atoned'; ~ān: 31.4
ānāftan, ānāb- ['n'p̄-tn'] vb. 'reject, frustrate' 16.7; ~āg: 1.3; ~īhēd: 36.11, 71, 86; 38.16; ~īhēnd: 36.99; ~īhīd: 3.4; ānāftār: 1.11; see also zahr-ānāb
ānāft-nērōgīhā ['n'p̄t'-nyrwgyh'] adv. 'with strength frustrated' 36.13
ānāft-zōrīh [~-zwlyh'] n. 'weakened power' **36.63**; ~ā: 36.99
anāg ['n'k'] adj. 'evil, harm, pain'; ~īh: 2.14; 4.1; 5.1, 2, 3, 4, 8; 14.3; 25.6; 26.4, 5, 6, 7; 32.3, 4, 5; 36.28, 63, 44; 40.4; ~tom: 36.72
an-āgāh ['n'k's] adj. 'unaware, ignorant' 2.16; 36.2
anāgīh-kardār ['n'kyh krt'l] n. 'doer of harm'; ~ān: 5.3

anāg-kām ['n'k-k'm] adj. 'malevolent' 36.5, 31
an-āgnēn-zōrīh ['n'knyn'-zwlyh] n. 'disunited power' 36.63
anagr(āy) ['ngl'd] adj. 'infinite' 34.3
anagrān ['ngl'n] n. 'endless light' **7.6**
an-āhōg ['n'hwk'] adj. 'undefiled, unblemished' 36.7
an-āhōgēnīdan ['n'hwkyn-ytn] vb. 'purification' 1.11; ~īd: 'undefiled': 36.4
an-ālūd ['n'lwt'] adj. 'unmixed, undefiled' 31.10
an-arešk ['n'lyšk'] adj. 'unenvious' 36.106
an-āsānīhā ['n's'nyh'] adv. 'without respite' 31.5
anaspurr ['nspwl] adj. 'imperfect' 36.2; see also spurr
ānāst ['n'st'] adj. 'destroyed, not existed' 36.69; ~īhā: **36.13**
an-ast-abespārdār ['n'st'psp'lt'l] n. 'entrusting of falsehood'; ~ān: 36.48
an-āstārīd ['n'st'lyt'] adj. 'without sin' 16.14
an-āštīh ['n'štyh] n. 'enmity' 36.89
an-ayāft ['n'y'pt'] adj. 'not realised' 21.2
an-ayāragīh ['nhdyb'lkyh] n. 'without help' 36.11
an-ayāsišn ['n'byd'šn'] v. n. 'forgetting' 36.11
ānayišn ['nyšn'] v. n. 'bringing' 16.3
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āwādag ['wb'tk'] n. 'generation, descendant' 1.8; 13.3; 36.29, 69; ~ān: 36.29
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a-wirāst ['wyl'st'] adj. 'unprepared' 36.17
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ayādīh ['byd'tyh] n. 'memory' Int.18; 36.48; 38.12; ~iš: 36.48
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ayāftan, ayāb- ['y'p-tn'] vb. 'obtain'; ~ēd: 2.18; 22.2, 3; 30.3, 17, 20; 31.12; 36.10, 85, 86, 88, 89, 90, 93; ~īd: 37.3; ~īhēd: 30.15; 37.3; ayāft: Int.15, 21; 36.29, 37, 69, 85
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ayār [hdyb'l] n. 'helper, friend' 21.3; 35.3; 36.40; ~īh: Int.0; 35.7; 36.44
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ayōxšust ['ywkhšwst'] n. 'metal' 36.96; ~ān: 30.17
az [MN] prep. 'from, than' H.; Int.1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 23, 24, 27, passim. az-iš: postposition governing preceding suffix pron. 3 sg.'from him / her / it': Int.13, 23; 1.9; 2.14, and passim. az ... rāy 'because': Int.12; **2.8**; 36.13
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azēr [hcdl] adv. & adj. 'below, under' Int.18; 36.22, 44; 38.13; ~īg: 32.6; ~īgtom: 38.5
az-kardārān ['cklt'l'n] n. 'activities of Āz' 36.67
az-kirb ['cklp] adj. 'in the form of serpent' 36.84
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- b -

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bārīg [b'lyk'] adj. 'thin, fine, subtle' 20.3; ~īh: 20.3; īhā: 18.5
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bastan, band- [bstn', bnd-] vb. 'tie, bind' 17.2; 38.1, 12; 39.2; ~ēd: 38.32; 40.5; ~ēnd: 38.1, 31, 40.5; ~īhēd: 16.13; 38.9, 30; bast: 22.3; bastag: 31.3; 38.12; 39.2; bastagtar: 38.23
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baxšišn [bhššn'] v. n. 'portion, distribution' 36.99; ~īh: 36.44
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baxtan, baxš- [bhtn', bhš-] vb. 'distribute, apportion'; ~ēd: 21.4; 36.106; ~ānd: 40.8; baxt: 36.15
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bazag [bck'] n. 'sin, evil' 13.4; 23.5
bazag-ēwēnag [~-'dwynk'] adj. 'sinful, criminal'; ~ān: 31.4; ~īh: 31.7
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bēšazdārīhā [bšcd'lyh'] adv. 'healthful' 16.7
bēšazīhistan, bēšazīh- [byšcyh-stn'] vb. 'cure, heal'; ~ēd: 36.60
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brīn [blyn'] adj. 'appointed, limited' 36.13, 18, 24; ~ōmand: 36.13, 28
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būm [bwm] n. 'land, earth' 16.13; 17.2, 3; 30.17; 36.22, 33; 38.13; ~ām: 36.81
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bun-āfurišn [~-'pwlšn'] n. 'beginning of the creation' 36.14; ~īh: 1.8
bun kardan [~ krtn'] vb. 'bequeath' 7.2; ~ kardār 'founder' 7.5
burdan, bar- [YBLWN-tn', bwltn', bl-] vb. 'take, carry' 16.13; 38.6; ~ēd: 14.5; 18.5, 6; ~ēnd: 16.13; 17.2, 3; burd: 38.3; 39.10; 39.17
burdār [bwlt'l] agent n. 'bearer' 1.9
burīdan, bur- [bwl-ytn'] vb. 'cut'; ~āg: 36.103
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cagād [ck't'] n. 'peak, summit' 20.1, 2; 33.1, 2
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cašm [cšm] n. 'eye' 2.13; 36.63; 38.29
cašmagāh [cšmk's] adj. 'notorious' **23.3**; 24.3
cāšnīg [c'šnyk'] n. 'taste' **27.5**
cē [ME] interrog. pron. and adj. 'what, which' passim; conj. 'for, because, since' passim; with suffix pron.: cē-m: Int.11, 26; 15.3; 18.4; cē-mān: 2.3, 4; cē-š: 2.3; 12.3; 16.13; 36.11; 38.1; cē-šān: 16.13; cē-tān: Int.3
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cēr [cyl] adj. 'triumphant, victorious, violent, courageous' 16.6; 36.25, 42, 95

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cihr(ag) [chl(k')] n. 'face, form, shape, essential' Int.23; 31.4; 36.90, 94

cihrīg [chlyk'] adj. 'natural' 36.88, 90, 99; ~īhā: 16.9; 36.14; 38.31

cihrīg-kārīhā [~-k'lyh'] adv. 'work of nature' 36.87

cim [c(y)m] n. 'reason, cause, meaning' Int.6, 8, 21, 22, 25, 28; 2.5; 3.1; 5.3, 8; 15.6; 16.5, 6, 14; 17.2; 27.1, 5, 6; 28.1, 2; 29.1; 30.13; 38.1, 9, 10 12, 22; 39.1, 5; ~īg: Int.5, 7, 12; 2.6, 8, 15; 26.8; 37.2; 38.26; ~īgīhā: 15.5; 38.4; ~īgtar: Int.16, 25; 39.13; see also cim ī māwāg

cimīg-āfurišnīh [cymyk-'pwlšnyh] n. 'intentional creating' 2.6

cim ī māwāg [c(y)m Y m'w'k'] n. 'the reason for mumbling' (i.e. for reciting with moderate utterance) **39.1**, 5, 16, 17

cim-nimāyišnīh [cym-nm'yšnyh] n. 'explanation of reasons' Int.24

cim-paydāgīh [~-pyt'kyh] n. 'explanation of reasons' Int.14

Cinwad [cynwt'] n. 'Cinwad (bridge)' **20.1**, 2; 23.2; 31.2; 33.2

ciš [MNDOM] n. 'thing' Int.19, 28; 26.8; ciš-iz: 6.3; 39.17; ~ān: 36.2

ciyōn [cygwn'] conj. 'as, like, when' 1.8; 2.11, 14, 18; 3.4; 6.2, 8; 8.4; 11.2; 12.3; 14.3, 6; 15.1, 6; 16.3, 14; 17.2; 18.4; 20.1, 7; 21.1, 5; 22.1, 2, 3; 23.5; 25.1, 6; 26.1; 29.4; 30.1, 5, 10, 12, 13, 15, 17; 31.1, 10; 32.1, 6; 33.2; 34.1; 35.1, 5; 36.1, 2, 3, 17, 26, 30, 31, 35, 41, 47, 51, 54, 62, 63, 65, 67, 79, 86, 88, 89, 92, 96, 99, 103, 107; 37.1; 38.3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, 14, 22, 27; 39.2, 11, 13; 40.1, 6; ~īh: 25.1; 26.1; 33.1; 36.14; 36.59, 60, 74, 96; ~mān: Int.20; 6.5; with suffix pron. ~-iš: 2.4; 3.3; 4.2; 6.3; 13.2; ~tān: Int.3; preceded by ēdōn 'thus .. , just as ...': Int.20; 2.19; 5.5; 6.4, 5; 7.1; 9.2; 10.1; 11.1; 20.3; 35.6, 75; 38.15, 31; preceded by owōn 'so ... just as ...' Int.19, 20, 28; 2.4; 7.7; 15.4; 16.13; 36.55, 73; 38.26; az ān ciyōn Int.20, 24; 4.3; 14.6; 16.8; 27.6; 38.31

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dabrīh [dplyh] n. 'roughness' **20.7**

[1]dād [d't'] n. 'religion, law' (of good or bad religions), 19.4; 36.84; 38.3, 24, 25, 31; 40.1, 2, **3**, 4, 5, 6; ~īg: 36.13, 14, **26**, 52, 53, 58; ~īh: 2.13; 19.4; 20.5; **36.72**; ~īhā: 14.5; 17.3; 36.13; ~īhātar: Int.7; see also abārōn-dād, frārōn-dād, nē-dādīh

[2]dād [d't'] n. 'status' 36.82

[1]dādan, dah- [YHBWN-tn'] vb. 'to create' 1.1; 2.1, 2, 8; 3.3, 4; 6.1; 30.17; 36.3, 4, 19, 32, 79, 82, 100

[2]dādan, dah- [YHBWN-tn'] vb. 'to give' Int.13, 17; 1.10; 3.3; 6.4; 12.1; 16.1, 13, 14; 28.2; 31.5; 36.19, 29; 39.14; ~ēd: 17.3; 18.6; 36.60; ~ēnd: 6.4; 17.1; see also dast-~išnīhā, rawāg-~išnīhā

[1]dādār [d't'l] n. 'Creator' Int.0; 1.2, 5, 9; 2.2, 3, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 18, 19; 3.2; 6.2, 5; 13.3; 18.5; 21.3, 4; 27.6; 28.2; 30.3, 4, 5; 35.7; 36.2, 3, 4, 10, 12, 14, 17, 26, 49, 50, 53, 61, 62, 68, 69, 83, 86, 97, 98, 99, 108; 38.2, 21, 23, 24

[2]dādār [d't'l] n. 'giver' 24.3; ~ān: 38.31

dādestān [DYNA, d'tst'n'] n. 'judgment' Int.8; 4.2; ~īgīh: 36.13; ~ōmandīhā: 36.46

dādwar [d'twbl] n. 'judge'; ~ān: Int.8

dagr [dgl] adj. 'late, long' Int.3, 11; 15.3; 16.2, 4; 36.86; ~īh: 31.7

dagrandīh [dglndyh] n. 'length' 20.5

dagrand-xwadāy [dglnd-hwt'y] adj. 'of the long dominion' 35.3

dagr-pattāy [dgl-pt'd] adj. 'long-lasting' 34.3

dagr-pattāyišn [~-pt'dšn'] v. n. 'durable' 16.9

dāhagān [d'hk'n'] n. 'creatures' 30.4

Dahāk [dh'k'] proper n. 'Dahāk, Azdahāk' 35.3; **36.84**

dahān [PWME] n. 'mouth' 2.13; 39.6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 15, 17

dahibed [dhywpt'] n. 'ruler' 3.3; 36.100; 38.16, 21; 40.4; ~ān: 38.30

dahīg See abāz-zadār-dahīg; pas-dahīhā

dahišn [dhšn'] v. n. 'creation' Int.0; 1.1, 6, 8; 2.11, 13; 16.13; 21.1, 3; 27.4; 36.34, 48, 49, 50, 86, 109; ~ān: 30.17; ~īg: 5.4; ~īh: 6.4; 18.4, 6

dahom [10wm] num. 'tenth' 10.1

Dāitī [d'yty(d)y] proper n. 'Dāitī' **20.1**, 2; 33.1, 2

dām [d'm] n. 'creature' Int.0; 1.5; 8; 10; 2.2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 19; 6.2, 4; 16.4; 21.5; 28.2; 30.17; 36.3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 13, 19, 22, 32, 37, 46, 51, 57, 58, 59, 63, 65, 87, 98, 100, 102, 105, 107; 37.2; 38.13; 39.2; ~ān: 1.2, 3,11; 6.2; 13.3, 16.13, 14; 21.4; 36.2, 12, 17, 19, 22, 23, 27, 42, 43, 44, 45, 53, 68, 85, 86, 88, 91, 104, 106; 38.31; ~īhā:1.9

dām-dādārīh [~-d't'lyh] n. 'creation of the creatures' 38.20

dām-dahišnīh [~-dhšnyh] n. 'creating the creatures' 36.3

damišn [dmšn'] v. n. 'breath' 26.5; ~īh: 36.44

dānāg [d'n'k'] n. 'wise' Int.5; 2.5; 3.3-22.3; 30.17; 38.27; ~ān: 36.92; ~īh: Int.14; ~īhā: 36.81; ~tar: Int.20

dandān-frēš [dnd'n'-plyš] n. 'toothpick' **39.7**

dānistan, dān- [YDOYTWN-stn'] vb. 'know' Int.7, 8; 2.13; ~ē: 6.8; ~ēd: 2.16; 15.1, 2; 30.3; ~ēnd: 36.28; ~īhēd: 2.16; 6.6; ~ist: 36.2,48

dānišn [d'nšn'] v. n. 'knowledge' Int.23, 25; 3.2; 22.3; 36.11, 47, 48, 87; 38.4, 31; ~ān: 3.2; 36.19; ~īg: 2.17; 38.10; ~īgīhā: 6.7; īhā: 36.14

dānišn-gugāyīhā [~-gwk'dyh'] adv. 'by the witness of knowledge' 36.47

dār [d'l] n. 'tree' 20.2, 3; ~ān: 30.17; see also dār-kirb

dar [BBA] n. 'chapter, door' H.; Int.17, 20; 5.3; 16.14; 17.2; 30.10; 32.6; 36.47; dar-dar: Int.16, 17

dārāg [YHSN-'k] agent n. 'preserving' 2.13

dard [dlt'] n. 'pain' 5.5, 6; 15.2; 21.2; 25.4; 26.1, 4, 5; 27.2; 31.1, 7; 36.28, 29, 44, 66, 102, 103; 40.4

dardēnīdan, dardēn- [dltyn-ytn'] vb. 'cause to pain' 36.95; ~ēnd: 31.5

dardēnīdārīh [dltynyt'lyh] n. 'tormenting' 36.94

dardēnāg [dltyn'k'] n. & adj. 'one who cause suffering'; ~ān: 31.4

dardīhistan, dardīh [dltyh-stn'] vb. 'pain, suffer'; ~ēd: **36.11**; ~ēnd:16.14; 31.10

dard-widār [~-wt'l] n. 'experience the pain, pain enduring' 21.2; ~īh: 36.66

dārišn [YHSNNšn'] v. n. 'preservation' 1.8; 2.13; see also abāz ~išn

dār-kirb [d'lklp] adj. 'wooden body' 20.2

dārmag-dānišn [d'lmk-d'nšn'] v. n. 'fine learning'; ~ān: Int.24

darmān [dlm'n'] n. 'drug, remedy' 36.86

darrāg [SDKWN-'k'] agent n. 'tearing'; ~ān: 31.4

darrīdan, darr- [SDKWN-ytn'] vb. 'tear'; ~ēnd: 36.94
darrēnīdan, darrēn- [SDKWN-ynytn'] vb. 'cause to tear'; ~ēnd: 14.5; 15.1, 6; ~ēnd: 36.94
darrēnišn [SDKWN-ynšn'] v. n. 'tearing' 14.1, 4; 15.2, 4; 36.101; 38.20
darrišn [SDKWN-šn'] v. n. 'tearing' 36.39; 40.4
dast [YDE, dst'] n. 'hand' 2.13; 3.3; 7.1, 6; 18.4, 6; 27.3; 36.53; 38.20; 40.4
dastag [dstk'] n. 'bunch, bundle, group' wistarg-ē dastag: 'a suit of clothes' 7.7
dast-dahišnīh [dst' -dhšnyh] n. 'giving a hand' 18.4, 6
dast-graw [~-glwb'] n. 'captivity' 36.37; ~īh: 18.6; 36.66
dast-hammōg [~-hmwk] adj. 'accustomed' 16.13
dastwar [dstwbl] n. 'dastwar, authority, priest, custom' Int.20, 21; 2.17; 21.5; ~ān: Int.8, 18, 20, 21; 2.16; 20.2; 22.3; 26.8; 36.48, 92; 38.10, 26; ~īh: Int.10; 31.10; ~īhā: 17.3
dāštan, dār- [YHSNN-tn'] vb. 'have, keep' 2.13, 16, 17; 4.4; 6.5; 36.13; 36.13; 38.11, 12, 21, 22, 24, 25, 31; 39.14, 17; ~ēd: 2.18; 7.7; 22.4; 31.6; 36.86; 38.11, 24; 39.17; ~ēm: Int.11, 21; ~ēnd: 5.4 ; 14.2; 16.5, 1432.4; 34.3; 36.55, 76, 100; 38.7, 23, 31; 40.2 ~īhēd: 2.15; 38.31; dāšt: Int.20; 17.3; 36.67; 38.10
dāštār [d'št'l] n. 'keeper, protector' 16.9; 38.19; īh: 38.12
daxšag [dhšk'] n. 'sign' Int.1; 15.6; 16.14; 36.47, 49; 38.8, 11, 12, 25, 26, 30, 32; 39.2; ~īhā: 36.14; ~īhātar: Int.16
daxšagīhistan, daxšagīh- [dhškyhyt'] vb. 'indicate, manifest'; ~ēd: 38.27
dēn [dyn] n. 'religion, Avesta and Zand' Int.5, 8, 11, 14, 17, 22, 23, 25; **1.1**, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 17; 3.2, 4; 4.2, 3, 4; 6.3, 8; 11.2; 14.2; 16.5, 13; 18.4; 21.1, 3, 5; 22.3; 32.6; 36.19, 35, 41, 42, 48, 73, 100; 38.3, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 22, 23, 24, 29, 30, 32; 39.2; 40.1, 2, 5, 6; ~īg: Int.14, 23; 39.17; 27.5; 30.13; 36.41; 38.10, 18, 22, 26, 31; 39.2; ~īgān: Int.8; 2.18; 38.10; ~īgīhā: 2.18; abārōn-dēnīh: 24.6; drō-dēnīh: 36.42
dēn-abarag [~-'plg] adj. 'of superior religion' 36.26
dēn-āgāh [~-'k's] adj. 'aware of religion, acquainted with the religion' Int.21; ~ān: 38.13; ~īhā: Int.21
dēn-burdār [~-bwlt'l] agent n. 'faithful, upholder of religion' 3.4; ~ān: 3.4; 36.26; 38.18
dēn-dōstih [~-dwstyh] n. 'love of religion' Int.4
dēn-framānīh [~-plm'nyh] n. 'precept of religion' 14.6
dēnīgbed [dynykpt'] n. 'faithful leader'; ~ān: Int.8
dēnīg-wizōyišnīhā [~-wcwdšnyh'] adv. 'interest in the religion' Int.1
dēnīg-wurrōyišnīhā [~-wlwdšnyh'] adv. 'faithful belief' Int.14
dēn-pēšōbāy [dyn' pyš(')wp'd] n. 'leader of the religion' **Int.11**, 23
dēsīdag [dysytk'] adj. 'built' 36.3
dēsīdan, dēs- [dys-ytn'] vb. 'build' 36.3
dēw [ŠDYA] n. 'demon, devil' 31.3,4; 33.2; 36.18, 31, 34, 36, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 65, 68, 70, 84, 88, 90, 94, 95, 96, 101; 38.13, 16, 20, 23, 30; ~ān: 1.11; 5.3, 4; 15.6, 7; 16.2, 3, 14; 26.2, 6, 7; 31.11; 32.4,5,6; 36.13, 17, 18, 31, 36, 37, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 58, 70, 72, 87, 89, 90, 96; 38.17; 40.4; ~īg: 36.7; ~īh: 36.13
dēwānōmand [dyw'n'wmnd] n. 'registrar'; ~ān: 12.3
dēw-zadār [~-zt'l] agent n. 'one who smites demons' 36.26
dibīr [dpywr'] n. 'scribe' Int.17
did [TWB] adj. 'other' 36.11, 16, 55; ēk abar did: 36.88; ēk az did: 8.1, 2; 28.1; ēk ō did: 35.6; 39.14

dīdan, wēn- [HZYTWN-tn', wyn-] vb. 'see' 2.13; 30.5; ~ē: 18.4; ~ēd: 15.2, 3; 30.3, 6; ~ēnd: 18.5; 22.3; 30.5; 36.97; ~īhēd: Int.22; 1.12; 18.3; 36.79; 38.3; dīd: Int.16 ; 8.1, 2; 18.1,5; 28.1; 30.4; 35.6; 36.11, 13, 30; 38.14
dīdārag [dyt'lk'] n. 'vision' 30.17
dīdārīg [dyt'lyk'] adj. 'manifest' 5.8; 36.47, 49, 64, 69
didom [dtwm] num. 'second' 31.10
dil [LBBME, dyl] n. 'heart' **2.13**, 16; 38.26, 29, 31
diz [dc] n. 'fortress'; ~ān: 36.66
dō [2] num. 'two' Int.23; 2.10, 17; 5.3, 4; 6.8; 30.11; 33.2; 36.15, 26, 37, 55, 60, 69; 38.11; 39.2, 11, 13, 14
2-ān [2 'n] pl. num. '(those) two' 36.20
dōl [dwl] n. 'Dol, Aquarius' **Int.15**
dōst [dwst'] n. 'friend' 2.11, 13; 30.8, 17; ~ān: 36.17; ~īh: Int.6, 9, 10, 26; 2.12, 14, 15; ~īhā: Int.13
dōšāram [dwš'lm] n. 'love' 30.8; ~īh: Int.7
dōšišnīh [dwššnyh] n. 'friendship' 36.108
drahnāy [dlhn'd] n. 'length' 20.5
drang [dlng] n. 'period, duration' 20.7; 36.9
dranjēnīd-zand [dlncynyt'-znd] adj. 'recited the Zand' Int.8
draxt [dlht'] n. 'tree' 38.7; ~ān: 30.17; 38.4, 6
drayā(b) [dlyd'p̄] n. 'see' 36.1, 96; ~ān: 36.109
drāz [dl'c] adj. 'long' Int.12; 35.2; 36.86
driyōš [dlgwš] adj. 'poor'; ~ān: 38.2
drō [KDBA] n. 'lie, deceit' 36.41, 42, 101; see also xwad-drō-axwīh
drōd [ŠRM] n. 'health' 15.6; 30.8; ~īh: Int.26
drō-dēn [KDBA-dyn'] adj. 'false religion' 36.42; ~īh: 36.42
drō-gōwišn [~-gwbšn'] v. n. 'false speech' 36.73; ~īh: 36.101
drō-kām [~-k'm] adj. 'desire to lie' 36.101
drōn [dlwn'] n. 'drōn (ritual)' **27.1**; 29.1, 2, 3, 4
drōšīdan, drōš- [dlwš-ytn'] vb. 'mutilate, punish'; ~ēd: **36.11**; ~īhēd: 16.13
drōzan [dlwcn'] adj. 'liar'; ~ān: 36.74
drōzišn [dlwcšn'] v. n. 'lie, deceive' 36.13, 101; 38.20
drubušt [dlwpwšt'] n. 'fortress' 36.16, 17; ~īh: 38.14; ~tom: 36.66; see also band-drubuštīh
drust [drw(d)st'] adj. 'right, well' Int.21; 2.13; 3.2; 6.5; 38.2; 39.2; ~īhā: 16.4
drust-cimīh [~-cymyh] n. 'true meaning' Int.22
drust-wimand [~-wymnd] adj. 'proper limit'; ~īhā: 38.2; ~tar: 6.5
druwand [dlwnd] adj. 'evil, wicked, sinful' 15.3; 18.6; 20.1; 24.1; 31.1; 36.65, 91, 95; ~ān: 13.4, 5; 14.4; 18.1, 5; 19.1, 5; 20.1, 4, 5, 7; 31.2, 10, 11; 32.2, 3; 33.1, 2; 36.14, 18, 88, 89, 93, 94, 95; ~īh: 13.3; 19.5; 36.37, 101
druwandēnīdan, druwandēn- [dlwndyn-ytn'] vb. 'make sinful' 36.41; ~īd: 36.72
druxtār [dlwht'l] agent n. 'deceiver' 33.2; 36.14; ~īh: 36.11;
see also spurr-druxtārīh
druz [dlwc] n. 'druz, demon' Int.5, 8, 12, 26 1.3, 5, 9; 2.11, 19; 6.2; 18.6; 21.4; 24.6; 30.7; 31.5, 9, 10; 36.4, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 26, 31, 36, 37, 46, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 57, 61, 63, 64, 65, 69, 73, 79, 84, 86, 88, 94, 96, 97, 99, 101, 103; 38.16, 19, 30;

~ān: 15.7; 26.2; 31.10; 36.31, 43, 45, 47, 59, 74, 75, 89, 91; 38.16, 17; ~īh: 36.13, 84, 99; ~īhā: 1.11

Druzaskān [dlwc'sk'n] n. 'the burrow of the druz' **32.5**

druz-stāyīh [dlwc'-st'yh] n. 'praise of druz' 24.6

druz- zadārīh [dlwc'-zt'lyh] n. 'slaying of druz' 36.67

dūdag [dwtk'] n. 'family' Int.20

dudīgar [dtykl] adj. 'second' 2.1; 19.2; 23.1, 4; 24.1, 4; 30.13; ~īh: Int.10

dūr [dwl] adj. 'far' 2.16; 36.22, 66; 38.15; ~īg: 36.29

dūr-payrōg [~-ptlwk'] adj. 'far-(reaching) radiance' 36.35

duš-āgāh [dwš'k's] adj. 'ignorant' 36.4; ~īhā: 36.64

duš-dādīh [~-d'tyh] n. 'bad religion' 40.5

duš-dahišn [~-dhšn'] v. n. 'evil-creation' 36.100

duš-dānāg [~-d'n'k'] adj. 'evil-knowing' 36.32, 38

duš-dēn [~-dyn'] adj. 'evil religion' 36.84, 38.30

duš-gōwišnīh [~-gwbšnyh] n. 'evil speech' 24.4

dušhumat [~hwmt'] n. 'evil thought'; ~ān: 36.101

duš-hūxt [~-hwht'] n. 'evil speech' 3.3; 19.2; 23.6; ~ān: 36.101

dušīh [dwšyh] n. 'badness' 36.4

duš-kirb [dwš-klp] n. 'ugly'; ~ān: 31.4

duš-kunišnīh [~-kwnšnyh] n. 'bad deeds' 24.4

dušmat [dwšmt'] n. 'evil thought' 1.4; 3.3; 19.2; 23.6

dušmen [dwšmn'] n. 'enemy' 2.11, 12; 36.53, 60

duš-menišn [dwšmnšn'] n. 'evil thought'; ~ān: 31.10; ~īh: 24.4

dušox [dwšhw] n. 'Hell' 5.6, 7; 13.4, 5; 19.5; 20.7; 24.2, 6; 26.1, 6, 7, 8; 31.1, 3, 5, 8, 11; 32.1, 6; 33.1; 36.94, 101; 40.7; ~īg: 36.41; ~īgān: 31.1; ~īh: 36.95

dušox-pattāyīh [dwšhw-pt'yh] n. 'staying in hell' 36.95

duš-rawišn [dwšlwbšn'] n. 'evil way' 6.8

duš-xwār [~-hw'l] adj. 'difficult' Int.10; 21.1; ~ag: 4.2; ~agīh: 40.4; ~īh: 4.3, 4; 14.2; 15.1; 19.2; 25.4; 26.1, 4; 31.1; 36.103

dušxwaršt [~hwwlšt'] n. 'evil deed' 3.3; 19.2; 23.4, 6; ~ān: 36.101

dwārīdan / dwāristan, dwār- [dwb'l-ytn', stn'] vb. 'run, move (daevic)'; ~āg: 36.31; ~ēd: 16.6; 32.5; ~ēnd: 36.22, 44; ~īd: 36.36; 38.17; ~īd hēnd: 38.13; ~īdag: 36.50; ~ist: 36.34, 57; ~ist hēnd: 36.34; see also andar ~išnīh

- e -

-ē ['y] particle giving the present tense optative sense: passim.

ēbgat ['ybgt'] n. 'onslaught, enemy, adversary' 36.13, 14; 38.13; ~īg: 16.6; see also an-ēbgatīh

ēbyānghan ['ypy'nghn'] n. 'girdle, sacred cord' 36.35; **38.15**

ēbyānghanīdan ['ypy'nghnytn'] vb. 'put on the sacred cord'; ~ēd: 38.24

ēbyāstan ['ypy'stn'] vb. 'to gird, begird' **38.18**; 26

ēc ['yc] adj. with a negative: 'not any' 2.14; 14.3; 15.2; 17.3; 25.4; 26.3, 5; 32.4; 34.1; 36.2, 36, 73, 99, 102, 103; 38.2, 4, 17

ēd [HNA] dem. pron. 'this'; Int.1, 3, 10, 28; 1.2; 2.13, 17, 19; 3.2; 4.2; 5.2, 8; 6.2; 7.2; 8.2; 9.2; 10.2; 11.2; 12.2, 3; 13.2; 14.2, 3; 15.2, 3; 16.2, 7; 17.2; 18.2; 19.2; 20.2; 21.2; 22.2; 23.2; 24.2; 25.2; 26.2, 8; 27.2; 28.2; 29.2; 30.2; 31.2; 32.2, 6; 33.2; 34.2, 3; 35.2; 36.2, 47; 37.2; 38.2, 24, 39.2; 40.1, 2, 5; ~iz: 15.3; 29.4; 30.17; ēd ka 'whether' **14.3**; ēd cē: 'whatever, whatever' Int.21; 12.3; 30.17; 36.14, 99; 40.5; ēd cē: 'since, on account of, because' 34.3

ēdōn ['ytwn'] adv. 'thus, so' Int.20, 22; 2.19; 5.5; 6.4, 5, 8; 7.1; 8.4; 9.2; 10.1; 11.1; 17.3; 18.5; 19.2; 20.2, 3, 8; 23.2; 30.9, 17; 34.1, 4; 35.6; 36.5, 59, 69, 75, 76, 96; 38.1, 15, 31, 39.2, 17; with encl. -iz: 27.3; 29.4; 36.3, 35, 49, 90, 91

ēg [ADYN'] adv. 'then' with encl. -iz or suffix pron., 16.6, 13, 14; 17.3; 40.5; ~im: Int.16; ~-iš: Int.5; 2.18; 4.3; 5.7; 7.1, 2, 3, 4, 5; 8.4; 11.2; 15.3; 22.2, 3; 30.14; 36.30; 39.3, 17; 40.1, 4; ~-imān: 4.4; 40.1; ~-išān: 13.1; 18.1

ēk ['ywk'] num. 'one' Int.5, 23;1.7, 9, 11; 5.3; 8.1, 2; 16.2; 17.4; 27.6; 30.10, 11; 31.10; 32.3, 4, 5; 33.1, 2; 35.6; 36.15, 37, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 60, 61, 64, 68, 70, 72, 80, 81, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88; 38.7, 11, 12, 13, 22, 24; 39.2, 11, 13, 14; ~īh: Int.10; ~-iz: 36.29

ēk-gōwišn [~ gwbšn'] v. n. 'alike speech' 36.75

ēmēd ['dmyt'] n. 'hope' 1.10; 5.6; 15.3, 7; 36.65

ēmēdēnīdan, ēmēdēn- ['dmytyn-ytn'] vb. 'give hope' 15.6

ēn [ZNE] dem. adj. and pron. 'this' Int.11; 1.12; 2.4; 3.1;4.1, 2; 6.1, 3; 15.3, 6; 28.2; 30.9,13; 32.6; 33.2; 34.1,2; 36.1, 28, 29, 48, 50, 51, 52, 54, 57, 61, 64, 68, 70, 72, 80, 84, 85, 86, 87, 99; 38.2, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 22, 24, 30, 31; 39.5; 40.1,7; ~-iz: Int.12, 14; 5.3, 5, 6; 22.3; 38.19

enyā ['yny'] conj. 'otherwise, unless' 30.5, 18; 36.2; be enyā 'except' Int.7

[1]ēr ['yl] adj. 'below, low, beneath' 36.15, 31, 34; 38.5, 27; ~īh: 38.28; ~īh 'humility' Int.11; 38.5, 6; 'good conduct' 36.106; ~tom 'lowest' 36.18

[2]ēr ['yl] adj. 'noble'; ~ān: 36.26

Ērān-wēz ['yl'nwyc] proper n. '(original) home of the Aryans' 20.2

ēraxtan, ēranj- ['ylhtn', 'ylnc-] vb. 'condemn, damn'; ērāxtēd: 24.6; see also ēraxt-frazāmīh

ēraxt-frazāmīh ['ylht-plc'myh] n. 'final condemnation' 36.56

ēr-mānag ['ylm'nk] adj. 'humble' 30.17

ēr-pad- ['ylpt'] (?) 'fall down'; ~ān: 36.17

[1]ēstādan, ēst- [YKOYMWN-tn', 'st'tn', 'wst-'tn'] vb. 'stand, be, continue' 16.12; 36.12; 38.2; ~ēd: 2.3; 4.3; 9.2; 10.2; 11.2; 12.3; 23.4; 17.3; 22.2, 3; 36.84, 95; 38.30; 39.15; ~ēnd: 34.3; 36.26; ~ēnīd: 36.21, 44; ēstīhēd: 36.84; see: also pad bun ēstēd; abāz ēstēd; abāz ēstēnīdan

[2]ēstādan, ēst- [YKOYMWN-tn', 'st'tn', 'wst-'tn'] auxiliary of the perfect continuous tense, ~ād: Int.15; ~ēd: Int.8; 1.1, 6, 12; 2.1, 4; 4.2; 6.1; 7.1; 9.1; 11.2, 3; 12.2, 3; 13.3; 14.4, 6; 16.2, 5, 11, 13, 14; 17.3; 18.2; 19.2; 20.2, 7; 21.1, 5; 36.35, 85, 101, 106; 38.1, 12, 31; 39.2, 5, 15, 17; 40.8; ~ēm: 6.4; 15.3

ēstēnīdan See abāz ēstēnīdan

ēstišn ['stšn'] v. n. 'existence, dwelling, lasting' 2.12; 40.2; ~īg: 40.5; ~īh: 1.5

ē(w) [HD, -HD, -I] adj. n. 'one, a' 1.2; 29.2, 3, 4; 32.6; 33.1; and passim

ēwar ['ywl] adj. adv. 'certain, assured(ly)' 2.6, 14; 4.3; 5.2; 7.5; 14.4; 30.6; 36.47; ~īg: 38.11; ~īgīhā: 36.49, 53; ~īgtar: 5.5

ēwarz ['dwlc] n. 'movement' 15.5

ēwarzīdan, ēwarz- ['dwlcytn', 'dwlc-] vb. 'move, travel'; ~ēnd: 36.17

[1]ēwāz ['yw'c] n. 'word, utterance' 15.6

2ēwāz [ʾywʾc] adj. 'only' 36.5, 41; 38.24; ~īg: Int.11; 38.5, 10
ēw-bār [ʾywbʾl] adv. 'once' 31.1
ēwēn [ʾdwyn'] n. 'custom, manner, kind' 17.2; 30.16; 38.11; 39.10, 13; 40.1; ~īg: 30.17; ~īhā: 16.13; ~tar: 27.4; see also rāst-ēwēnīhā
ēwēnag [ʾdwynk'] n. 'custom, manner' Int.14, 21, 26; 2.1; 4.1; 5.4; 7.1, 7; 8.3; 16.2, 7; 17.1, 3; 30.1; 31.1, 9, 10; 33.1; 36.43; 38.30, 31; 39.1, 10, 17; 40.4; ~ān: 30.17; 31.4; 36.11; bazag-~īh:31.7; ~īhā: 14.5; 17.2
ēw-kard [ʾywkrt'] adj. 'united' 39.2
ēw-tāg [ʾywtʾk'] adj. 'of one piece' 39.2
ēw-tom [ʾywtwm] adv. 'equally' **14.4**

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farroxtom [plhwtwm] adj. 'the most fortunate' 36.30; 38.19
Fradadafš [pldtʾpš] proper. n. 'Fradadafš' **35.5**
Frādat-xwarrah [plʾdtGDH] proper. n. 'Frādat-xwarrah' **35.4**, 5
fradom [AWLA, pltwm] adj. 'first' 1.1, 7; 13.4; 19.2; 23.1, 4; 24.1, 4; 30.20; 32.4; 36.53, 71; 38.10, 25; 39.2
frahang [plʾhng] n. 'education, knowledge' 3.2; 36.3, 42; ~ān: 3.2
frāhīd [plʾyytʾn] adj. 'numerous, plentiful' 36.47, 86; ~ān: **36.43**
frahist [plhyst'] superlative of freh, 'most' 25.7; 31.4; 36.80; 38.13
frahixtag [plhhtk'] adj. 'educated, trained' 2.13; ~ān: 36.14
frahixtišnīg [plhhtšnyk'] adj. 'educated'; ~ān: 30.17
framān [plmʾn'] n. 'order, command' 20.5; 27.6; 30.3; 36.48, 81, 108; 38.25, 30
framān-barišnīh [~-blšnyh] n. 'obedience' 38.32
framān-burdārīhā [~-bwltʾlyhʾ] n. 'obedience' 38.10
framāyišn [plmʾdšn'] v. n. 'order, command' 8.2, 3; 36.11; 38.22
framūdan, framāy- [plmwtn', plmʾd-] vb. 'order, command' 27.7; ~ēd: Int.26; 8.2, 3; 38.18; 40.1; ~ēnd: 38.21; ~ēnēnd: 27.1; framūd: Int.4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 17; 7.2, 4, 5, 6; 8.1; 16.13; 27.5; 36.9, 13, 37, 65; 38.10, 12, 21, 22, 24; 39.5, 13, 15
framūdār [plmwtʾl] adj. 'commander' 1.5; 7.5
framuštag [plmwštk'] adj. 'forgotten' 36.3
framuštan, framōš- [plmwš-tn'] vb. 'forget' 2.13
franāftan, franām- [plnʾptn', plnʾm-] vb. 'proceed, promote'; ~ēd: **23.6**; 30.2; ~ēnd: 33.2
franāmišn [plnʾmšn'] v. n. 'lead' 36.29
frārōn [plʾlwn'] adj. 'righteous' 2.13, 17; 5.6; 12.4; 19.4; 36.48, 73, 79, 84; 38.21, 23, 32; ~īhā: 36.46
frārōn-dād [plʾlwn' dʾt'] adj. 'right religion' 12.4
fraš(a)gird [plškrt'] n. 'fraš(a)gird, the renovation, the restoration (at the end of time)' Int.5;1.11, 12; 3.3; 6.2; 13.6; 30.9, 15; 31.5, 8, 10; 34.3; 35.2; 36.14, 27, 85, 92, 101; 38.16; 40.4; ~īg: 2.19
fraš(a)gird-kardār [~-krtʾl] adj. 'renovator' 35.4; ~ān: **1.8**; 35.6; ~īh: 1.5
frašaw- [plšw-] vb. 'proceeding'; ~ēnd: 36.85
fraš-kardārīh [plškrtʾlyh] n. 'renovation' 34.2; **35.1**, 3
frašgar [plškl] agent n. 'restorer' 1.11
frāšm [plʾšm] n 'brightness, glow' **1.12**; 36.86, 104

frawahr [plwʾhl] n. 'frawahr, fravaši, man's immortal soul, guardian angel during his lifetime' 1.3; 2.13; 36.67; ~ān: 16.5; **36.25**, 67, 108, 109
Frawāk [plwʾk'] proper n. 'Frawāk' **36.26**
fraward [plwlt'] n. 'frawahr, ardā fraward (Righteous Frawaši), 27.7; ~ān: 27.7
frāx [plʾhw'] adj. 'large, wide' Int.15; 20.3, 5; ~tar: 36.1
frāxēnīdan, frāxēn- [plʾhwyn-ytn'] vb. 'enlarge' 2.13
frāx-puhlīh [plʾhw' pwhlyh] n. 'of the width bridge' 20.5
frāx-sōg [~-swk'] adj. 'wide side'; ~īhā: 20.3
frāy [plʾy] adj. 'much, more' 5.8; 36.94; ~īhā: 32.3
frayād [pl(y)dʾt'] n. 'assistance' 36.45
frayādāg [pl(y)dʾtʾk'] adj. 'helper' 21.4; 23.6; 24.4
frayādīdan, frayād- [pl(y)dʾt-ytn'] vb. 'help, assist'; ~ēd: 7.1, 3
frayādišn [pl(y)dʾtšn'] v. n. 'help' Int.15; 19.2; 27.3, 4; 36.17; ~īg: 10.1; 15.5; ~īgtar: 27.4
frāz [prʾc] adj. 'forth, forwards' Int.24; 36.109; ~īg: **Int.11**; 31.9; ~īh: 1.2; as prevb. 16.3; 22.1, 3; 36.13, 14, 93; 38.1
frazāftan, frazām- [plcʾptn', plcʾm-] vb. 'achieve, perfect'; ~īhād: Int.27; ~īhēnd: 30.12
frazām [plcʾm] n. 'end, complete, conclusion' Int.27; 1.6; 15.2; 36.13, 46, 47, 48, 49, 52, 59, 79; ~īg: 36.26; ~īh: 1.9; ~ōmand: 36.13, 28; see also ēraxt-frazāmīh, pērōz-frazāmīh, wad-frazāmīh
frazāmēnīdan, frazāmēn- [plcʾmyn-ytn'] vb. 'complete'; 35.2; ~īdār: 1.11
frazāmišn [plcʾmšn'] v. n. 'completion, finish' 1.8, 12; 30.11, 12; 31.6; 36.14
frazām-wišōbišnīh [plcʾm wšwpšnyh] n. 'final destruction' 36.79
frazānag [plcʾnk'] adj. 'wise' Int.25; 38.16; ~ān: 22.4; 36.48; 38.30
frazand [prznd] n. 'child' 9.2; 34.3; 36.26, 29, 30, 69; ~ōmand: 36.30
frāz bastan [prʾc bstn'] vb. 'tie' 38.1
frāz brēhēnīdan [~ blyhyn-ytn'] vb. 'create'; ~ēd: 36.14
frāz dāštan [~ dʾštn'] vb. 'keep' 36.13
frāz madan [~ mtn'] vb. 'come'; frāz mad: 22.3
frāz māndan [~ KTLWN-tn'] vb. 'remain'; frāz mānd: 36.93
frāz stādan [~ YNSBWN-tn'] vb. 'take'; ~ēnd: 22.1
frāz tarsīdan [~ trsytn'] vb. 'frighten'; frāz tarsīd: 16.3
frēb [plyp'] n. 'deception, deceit' 36.5, 101; ~āg: 36.4, 31; ~āgīh: 36.11
frēbīhistan, frēbīh- [plypyh-stn'] vb. 'deceived'; frēbīhist: 2.19; 18.6; 38.19
frēbišn [plypšn'] v. n. 'deceive' 31.5; 36.94
Frēdōn [plytwn'] proper n. 'Frēdōn' 1.8; **36.26**, 67, 84
frēftagīh [plyptkyh] n. 'deceive' 24.6; 36.65
frēftan, frēb- [plyp-tn'] vb. 'deceive' 36.42; ~ēnēd: 40.5; frēft: 36.18
frēftār [plyptʾl] n. 'deceiver' 36.42; ~ān: 36.48; ~īh: 24.6
frēg [plyk'] n. 'shoulder' 23.5; 36.84
freh [plyh] adj. 'prolong, more much' 39.12
freh-būdīhā [~-bwtyhʾ] adv. 'excessively' Int.10
freh-wināhīh [~-wnʾsyh] n. 'excessive sinfulness' 24.6
frēstag [plystk'] n. 'apostle'; ~ān: 1.8; 38.30
frēšn See dandān-frēšn
frēzwānīg [plycpʾnyk'] adj. 'obligatory' Int.12; 2.13; ~tar: Int.15; 38.3, 7

frōd [plwt'] adj. & adv. 'down' 40.4; ~īg: 26.2; ~īh: 36.15; 38.29
frōd āwarišnīh [~-YHYTYWN-šnyh] n. 'lower' 38.5
frōd mīrišnīh [~-YMYTWN-šnyh] n. 'death' 32.2

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- h -

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ham-ēmēd [hm'dmyt'] adj. 'having the same hope' Int.5
hamē-ōšmur [~-'wšmwl] adj. 'ever-mindful' 3.3;
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ham-gund [~-gwnd] n. 'co-warrior'; ~ān: 36.5
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hangirdīg [hngltyk'] adj. 'complete, perfect, summary' 5.3; 32.6; ~tar: 2.19; ~īhā: 37.2
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hāwišt [h'wšt'] n. 'disciple'; ~ān: Int.15
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hixr [hyhl] n. 'unclean matter, dead matter'; ~īh: **16.9**, 13
Hōm [hwm] proper n. 'the sacred plant Haoma' 36.86
homānāg [hwm'n'k'] n. 'like' 20.3; 22.2; 30.12; 36.109; 38.14; ~īh: 30.17
Hōšang [hwš'ng] proper n. 'Hōšang' **1.8**; 36.26
hspyh'n [hspyh'n] (?) see Comm. **38.23**
hu-ayābag [hw'y'pk'] adj. 'well prepared', 36.17
hu-ayād [hw'y't'] adj. 'good to remember' 30.15
hu-bōy [hwbwd] adj. 'perfumed, fragrant' 20.6; ~tom: 25.2
hu-cašm [hwcšm] adj. 'benevolent' 18.4; ~īh: Int.6, 7, 9, 13

hu-cihr [hwcyhl] adj. 'fair, beautiful' Int.12; 7.7; 20.6; 23.5; 38.15, 31; ~īh: 38.4; ~īhātom: 25.2; ~tar: 7.6, 7
hu-dā(ha)g [hwd'(h)k'] adj. 'good, beneficent'; ~ān: 30.17; **36.44**
hu-dahišn [hwdhšn'] n. 'good creation' 38.21
hu-dān [hwd'n'] adj. 'well informed' Int.24
hu-daxšag [hwdhšk'] adj. 'good sign' 38.21
hu-dēn [hwdyn'] n. 'of the Good Religion, i. e. Mazdā worshipper'; ~ān: H.; Int.1, 15
hu-framān [hwplm'n'] adj. 'well-directing' 36.14
hu-fraward [hwplwlt'] adj. 'blessed' Int.23
hugartar [hwgltl] adj. 'easier' 36.3
hu-gōwišn [hwgwbšn'] n. 'of good speech' 36.73; ~īh: 24.4; 36.73
hu-kard [hwkrt'] adj. 'well-made' 36.8; ~īhā: 16.6
hu-kirb [hwklp] adj. 'beautiful' 30.17
humat [hwmt'] n. 'good thought' 1.4, 10; 2.13; 14.2; 19.2; 23.4, 6; 37.2
hu-menišnīh [hwmnšnyh] n. 'good thought' 24.4
hunar [hwnl] n. 'ability' Int.1, 7; 1.2
hunsand [hwnsnd] adj. 'happy, contented' 14.3; 36.28
hu-pēsīd [hwpysyt'] adj. 'well-decorated' 22.3
hu-pēšag [hwpyšk'] adj. 'good calling, profession' 36.82
hu-ramag [hwlmk'] n. 'having good flocks' 36.81
hu-rawišn [hwlwbšn'] n. 'good way' 6.8
hu-šarm [hwšlm] adj. 'beautiful' 30.17
Hušēdar [hwšytl] proper n. 'Hušēdar' 1.8; 36.26, 30
Hušēdarmāh [hwšytlm'h] proper n. 'Hušēdarmāh' 1.8; 36.26, 30
huškīh [hwškyh] n. 'dryness' 16.9
huškīhīdan, huškīh- [hwškyh-ytn'] vb. 'become dry'; ~ēd: 16.9
hu-tāšīd [hwt'šyt'] adj. 'well-created, well-made' 3.3; 15.5
hu-tazišn [hwtcšn'] n. 'well-blowing'; ~ān: 30.17
huwaršt [hwwlšt'] n. 'good deed' 1.4, 10; 2.13; 14.2; 19.2; 23.4, 6; 37.2
hūxt [hwht'] n. 'good speech' 1.4,10; 2.13; 14.2; 19.2; 23.4, 6; 37.2
huzārag [hwc'lk'] adj. 'little, a few' 36.3

- i -

ī [Y, ZY-] relative pron., connective particle 'who, which' passim. With enclitic pron.: ī-m: [ZYm] Int.12, 15, 21; 2.4; 36.48. ī-mān: Int.11, 13, 22; 4.1, 4. ī-š: [ZYš] 2.2, 13, 17; 4.3; 5.7; 6.4; 7.5; 8.1, 4; 18.5, 6; 20.3; 21.2; 23.3, 4; 24.3, 4, 5; 26.5; 28.2; 30.2, 17; 31.1, 6, 9; 36.9, 13, 29, 63, 65, 68, 70, 81, 100, 106; 37.2, 12; 40.2, 5. ī-šān: Int.7; 20.4; 26.7; 30.17; 31.5,10,12; 35.4; 36.13, 29, 41, 68, 76, 95, 97. ī-tān: [ZYt'n'] Int.4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 17, 25, 27
im [LZNE, 'm] dem. adj. 'this' Int.15, 16, 17, 20, 25; 2.5; 6.2; 26.5; 27.5; 36.8, 21, 47, 48; 38.7, 12, 16, 22, 23, 25, 29; 38.7,10, 12, 16, 22, 23, 25, 29; 39.5; im-šān: 30.17
-(i)š [-š] 3rd sg. enclitic pron. 'me, my' passim

- j -

jād [y't'] n. 'share' 7.2, 3, 4; 8.4; ~agīhā 'cases' Int.16

jadag [ytk'] n. 'fortune' 36.106
jadag-xīrīh [~hylyh] n. 'fortune, distributing (good) things' 36.106
jādūg [y'twk'] n. 'sorcerer'; ~ān: 36.22; ~īh: 36.84
jahān [yh'n'] adj. 'spiringing' **25.5**; ~īg 'subject to change' **25.7**
jahišnīg [yhšnyk'] adj. 'possible, happen, occur' 5.4
Jam [ym] proper n. 'Jam' 1.8; **36.26**, 81; **38.19**, 25, 26, 30
jāmag [y'mk'] n. 'garment' 30.2; 39.3
Jam-kard [~krt'] n. 'Jam-kard, made by Jam' 36.81
Jamšēd [ymšyt'] proper n. 'Jamšēd' 35.2; 36.67
jār [y'wl] n. 'time, occasion' 36.53
jastan, jah- [ystn', yh-] vb. 'happen, occur'; jast: 12.1, 4, 5; see also jahišnīg
jāwēdān [y'wyt'n'] adv. 'eternally' 12.4; 30.20; 36.13, 29; ~īg: 36.13, 109; see also ~-ranjīhā
jāwēdān-ranjīhā [~-lncyh'] adv. 'eternal distress' 36.12
jordā(y) [ywlt'y] n. 'grain'; ~ān: 30.17
jōyišn [ywdšn'] v. n. 'devouring, (daevic) eating' 16.13; 40.4
jud [ywdt'] adj. 'different, other, anti-' Int.25; 12.3; 16.12; 38.31; ~īh: Int.10; 16.13; 36.99; jud az: except, apart from' Int.13; 23; jud jud: 'individually' Int.3, 27; 20.7
jud-abzārīhā [~-'pc'lyh'] adv. 'with the means of opposing' 36.99
judāg [ywdt'k'] adj. 'different, separate' Int.16; 15.3; ~īhā: 28.1, 2; 29.1
judāgīhistan, judāgīh- [ywdt'kyh-stn'] denom. vb. 'separate'; ~ēd: 36.99
jūdan, jōy- [ywtn', ywd-] vb. 'devour, (daevic) chew' 36.39
jūdārīh [ywt'lyh] n. 'devouring, (daevic) eating' **36.90**
jud-dādestānīh [ywdt' d'tst'nyh] n. 'disagreement', Int.20, 21
jud-gōhr [ywdt' gwhl] adj. 'of different nature' 36.103; ~ān: 36.20
judīhistan, judīh- [ywdtyh-stn'] vb. 'to be separated'; ~ēd: 16.8
jud-kar [ywdt' kl] adj. 'opposite, against'; ~īh: 36.91; ~īhā: 36.14
jud-kardār [ywdt' klt'l] adj. 'antagonistic' 36.91
jud-ōšmār [ywdt' 'wšm'l] adj. 'different thinker'; ~īhā: 36.14
jumbēn [ywmbyn'] adj. 'moving' 2.13
jumbišn [ywmbyšn'] v. n. 'movement' 2.13; see also a-jumbišn
juttar [ywdtl] adv. 'otherwise, different' Int.19, 28; 8.1, 2; 10.1, 2; 14.4; ~īh: 36.18
juwān [ywb̲'n'] adj. 'young' 36.29; ~īhā: 36.29
Juwānjam(ān) [ywb̲'n'ym'n] proper n. 'son of Juwānjam' **H.**
juxt [ywht'] n. 'joined' 31.6; 36.47

- k -

ka [AMT] conj. 'if, when' Int.11, 15, 19, 25, 26; 39.15, 17;1.12; 2.6, 8, 13, 15; 4.3; 6.8; 7.3, 5; 9.1, 2; 13.5; 14.3; 15.2, 6; 16.3, 6, 13, 14; 17.1, 2; 18.1; 20.1, 4, 6; 22.2, 3; 23.1; 24.1; 27.1, 2, 3, 5; 28.2; 29.3, 4; 30.1, 5, 13, 20; 31.1, 10; 34.4; 36.4, 5, 11, 18, 29, 31, 37, 46, 47, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 60, 65, 69, 74, 78, 79, 80, 84, 86, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 96, 103; 37.2; 38.1, 5, 7, 11, 13, 19, 21, 24, 25, 30, 32; 39.6; 40.4; with pers. pron.: ka-m: Int.11, 16; 6.4; ka-š: Int.28; 7.3; 9.2; 12.4; 15.1, 5; 16.9; 18.4; 21.2; 22.3; 28.1; 30.9; 36.12, 13, 30, 68, 98, 100; ka-šān: 13.1, 6; 15.3; 36.1, 53, 96, 10;

with adverbial enclitic: ka-z: Int.20; 8.4; 16.7; 40.3; with adverbial enclitic and pers. pron.: ka-z-iš: 16.4; see also ēd ka
kabāh [kp'h] n. 'garment' 38.31
kabōd-gōnīh [kpwt' gwnyh] n. 'grey-blue-coloured' 36.74
kadag [ktk'] n. 'house' 17.4; 22.3; 26.5; ~ān: 30.17
kadām [kt'm] interrog. pron. which, what' 32.1; 36.64
kadām-jān-iz [~-y'n-c] indef. pron. 'whoever' 36.106
kadār-iz-ē(w) [kt'r-c-HD] indef. pron. 'whenever, each one' 2.12; 6.4
kaftan, kaf- [kp-tn'] vb. 'fall'; ~ēnēd: 31.2; kaft hēnd: 36.36
kāhišn [k'hšn'] v. n. 'decrease, diminution'; ~īg: 30.18, 19; ~īh: 14.2
kahwanīh [khwbnyh] n. 'elderly' 36.29
kālbod [k'lpwt'] n. 'body, form' 16.13
kam [km] adj. 'little, small' Int.12, 13, 24; 23.3; 36.3; ~īh: 12.3
kām [k'm] n. 'will, desire' Int.5, 12, 26; 1.2; 2.2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 13, 19; 3.2; 16.14; 36.45, 99; 38.23, 31; 40.3; ~ag: Int.9, 11; 2.4, 9, 18; 6.4; 14.5; 16.4; 36.63, 100, 108; 38.2, 16, 32; 40.4; ~agān: 38. 14; ~agīh:21.5; 31.5; ~agīhā: 5.6; ~agtar: 36.30
Kāmag-nyāyišn [k'mk' nyd'dšn'] proper n. 'Kāmag-nyāyišn' **35.4**, 5
Kāmag-sūd [k'mk' swt'] proper n. 'Kāmag-sūd' **35.4**, 5
kamāl [km'l] n. 'head (daevic)' 32.6; ~īg: 26.7; 32.4; 36.45, 68
kamar [kml] n. 'belt, girdle' 38.31
kāmistan, kām- [YCBEN-stn'] vb. 'desire, want'; ~ēm: Int.18
kāmišn [k'mšn'] v. n. 'want, wish' 36.26; ~gar: 36.65; ~garīh: 1.2; 2.9, 10, 18; 3.2; 6.2, 4; 36.65
kanārag [kn'lk'] n. 'boundary' 37.3; ~ōmand: 25.7; 30.18, 19; 36.13
kandag [kndk'] adj. 'carved' 17.4
kandan, kan- [HP̱LWN-tn'] vb. 'dig, destroy' 11.3; 14.1, 4; ~ēd: 11.1, 2, 4; 40.5
kanīg [knyk'] n. 'maid, girl' 20.6; 23.5
kanišn [HP̱LWNšn'] v. n. 'destruction'; ~īh: 38.28; see also gyān-kanišnīh
[1]kār [k'l] n. 'work, deed, affair' Int.12; 1.4; 2.1; 4.1; 5.5, 7; 21.1; 22.3; 35.2; 36.13, 26, 47, 48, 55, 85; 38.3, 7, 8, 19, 21, 31; 39.11, 13, 14
[2]kār [k'l] n. 'people'; ~ān: 30.17; 36.14; 39.2
kardag [krtk'] adj. 'performed' 39.1: yašt kardag, yašt nē kardag
kardag [krtk'] n. 'action' 38.7
kard-āmārīh [krt' 'm'lyh] n. '(one's) account having been done' 30.9
kardan, kun- [OḆYDWN-tn', krtn'] vb. 'make, do, perform' Int.16; 2.13; 3.3; 6.1,7; 7.1, 2, 6; 8.1; 9.1; 14.4; 16.11; 17.3; 19.3; 20.7; 21.2; 23.3; 24.3, 4; 27.1, 6, 7; 28.1; 30.9; 31.1, 2, 12; 35.2; 36.1, 2, 9, 37, 40, 41, 68; 39.7; ~ē: 6.8; ēd: 7.1, 2; 8.1, 2, 3, 4; 11.3; 13.2; 23.1; 24.1; 30.1; 18; ~ēnd: 5.6; 12.1; 13.1; 21.1, 3; 30.1, 10; 31.1; 34.1; 35.2, 6; 36.1, 94; ~īhēd: 2.15; 7.4; 11.2; 13.3; 22.3; kard: H.; 9.1; 12.1; 13.1, 4; 17.3; 19.3; 21.2; 23.3; 24.3,4; 30.9; 31.1, 2, 12; 36.1, 16, 28, 33, 38, 40, 42, 81, 95, 103; 37.1; 40.2, 9
kardār [krt'l] n. 'doer, maker' 1.11; 7.5, 6; ~ān: 5.3; 31.4; 35.6; see also anāgīh-kardārān
kard-espās [krt' sp's] adj. '(one who) has done service'; ~ān: 36.14, 17
kār-framān [k'lplm'n'] n. 'authority, intendant'; tuwān ~: 'able authority' **40.5**
kārīgar [k'lygl] n. 'workman' 39.13
kārīh [k'lyh] n. 'activity' 38.28

kas [AYŠ] n. 'person, somebody, one' Int.7, 11; 4.3; 7.1, 2; 8.1, 2, 3, 4; 14.4; 15.3; 30.1, 14; 31.1; 40.3
kastagtar [k'stktl] adj. 'more destroyed' 38.23
kat [kt'] adj. 'desirous, willing' **3.3**
kayīh [AYMT-yh] n. 'the when, time' 36.14
Kay kawād [kdkw't] proper n. 'Kay Kawād' **36.26**
Kay wištasp [kdwšt'sp] proper n. 'Kay Wištasp' **36.26**
Kay xusrō [kdhwslwb] proper n. 'Kay Xusrō' **35.3**; 36.26
kay-zamānīh [AYMT-ODNA-yh] n. 'time' 13.3
kē [MNW] rel. pron. 'which, who' Int.5, 8, 20, 21; 1.9; 2.13, 18, 19; 3.3, 4; 6.3, 8; 7.1; 13.1; 14.5; 15.2; 16.5, 10, 13; 17. 3; 18.4, 5; 21.5; 22.3; 28.2; 29.3, 4; 30.1; 31.1; 32.6; 35.1; 3; 36.2, 4, 14, 15, 17, 18, 22, 26, 41, 47, 63, 65, 68, 73, 74, 76, 78, 85, 86, 88, 95, 100, 106; 37.2; 38.1, 11, 14, 19, 21, 24, 29, 30, 31, 32; 40.8 and passim; with pers. pron.: kē-š: 1.7; 2.19; 3.2, 3, 4; 4.2; 5.7; 6.2, 3; 20.3, 5; 21.1; 23.3; 29.2; 30.5, 8; 31.4; 36.3, 10, 13, 32, 35, 65, 66, 72, 74, 84, 92, 96; 37.1, 3; 38.10, 12, 22, 30; 40.5 and passim; kē-šān: 1.6; 21.2, 3; 22.3; 36.44, 93; 40.1; with enclitic adverbial: kē-z: Int.1, 6.8
keh [ks] adj. 'less, inferior' 36.76; ~ān: Int.11
kehist [ksst] adj. 'lowest, the most humble' 38.5, 11
kēn [kyn'] n. 'hate, malice' 36.5, 13, 42, 45, 46, 101; ~īg: 36.13; ~īhā: 36.60; see also purr-kēnwarīh
kēn [kyn'] proper n. 'the demon Kēn' 36.40
kēnēnāg [kynyn'k'] n. 'malicious' 36.5
kēnēnīdan [kynyn-ytn'] vb. 'take vengeance' 36.13
kēnēnīdār [kynynyt'l] n. 'vengeful' 36.13
kēnišnīh See abāz-kēnišnīh
kēn-wizūdārīh [kyn-wyzwt'lyh] n. 'harm of revenge' 36.46
Kersāsp [kls'sp] proper n. 'Kersāsp' **16.5**; **35.3**; 36.26, 84
kirb [klp] n. 'body, form' 2.13; 16.3, 5; 18.3; 20.2; 24.5; 34.3; 36.40, 100
kirb-xwār [~-hw'l] n. 'corpse-eating'; ~ān: 16.13, 14; 17.2; ~īhā: 1.9, 11
kirbag [krpk'] n. 'good deeds, merit, right (things)' Int.5, 8; 4.2, 3; 7.1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; 8.3, 4; 9.1, 2; 10.1, 2; 11.1, 2, 3, 4; 12.1, 3, 4; 13.1, 2, 3; 14.2, 5; 21.2; 23.2, 3, 5; 24.3, 4; 25.6; 30.1, 2, 9, 16, 17; 31.5, 12; 33.2; 37.1, 2, 3; ~ān: 4.3; 38.14; ~īg: 30.17; ~īh: 7.5; 14.3; 19.4; 31.13; ~ān: 36.109
kirbag-uskārišnīh [~-'wsk'lšnyh] n. 'devotion to the good deeds' Int.1
kirbakkar [krpkk̠l] n. 'beneficent' 14.3; ~ān: 36.105
kirrēnīdan, kirrēn- [klyn-ytn'] vb. 'produce, create (daevic)'; ~īd: 36.43
kirrēnišn [klynšn'] v. n. 'production, creation (daevic)' 36.68; 40.4
kištan, kār- [ZLYTWN-tn'] vb. 'plant'; ~ēnd: 38.7
kišwar [kyšwl] n. 'region, clime' Int.10; 35.6, 7; ~ān: 38.19
kōdag [kwtk'] adj. 'small' 36.109
kōf [kwp] n. 'hill, mountain' 16.13; 17.2; 32.6; 36.1; ~ag: 14.5; ~ān: 32.6; 36.109
kōxš See pas-kōxš
kōxšāg [kw(h)š'k'] n. 'striving' 1.3; 36.69
kōxšēnīdan, kōxšēn- [kw(h)šyn-ytn'] vb. 'causing struggle'; ~ēd: 36.89
kōxšēnīdārīh [kw(h)šynyt'lyh] n. 'striving' 36.94, 99

kōxšīdan, kōxš- [kw(h)š-ytn'] vb. 'strive, struggle'; ~ēd: 36.11, 46, 66; ~ēnd: 36.17, 22, 44, 46, 94; ~īd: 36.13

kōxšīdār [kw(h)šyt'l] n. 'striving' 2.11, 12; 29.4; 36.13, 56; ~ān: 36.54; Int.8; 36.52, 61, 63, 64; ~īh: 36.89; see also pēš-kōxšišn

kōxšišn [kw(h)ššn] v. n. 'strife, struggle' Int.5; 2.10, 11, 12; 36.11, 13, 20, 27, 29, 40, 45, 47, 54, 64, 87, 89, 101; ~ān: 36.14, 46; ~īg: 36.63; ~īgān: 36.27; ~īh: 1.11; 36.52; ~īhā: 36.46

kū [AYK] conj. 'that, where, than' Int.3, 5, 12, 28; 11.1, 2; 12.1, 2; 13.1, 2, 3; 14.1, 2; 15.1, 2, 3; 16.1, 2, 14; 22.2, 3, 4; 23.1, 2; 24.1, 2; 25.1; 26.1, 8; 27.1, 2; 28.1, 2; 29.1, 2; 30.1, 13; 31.1, 2, 10; 32.1, 2, 5; 33.1, 2; 34.1, 2; 35.1, 2, 5, 6; 36.1, 2, 3, 5; 36.18, 22, 26, 29, 30, 34, 41, 44, 50, 51, 53, 54, 57, 61, 64, 65, 70, 71, 72, 76, 77, 80, 81, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 92, 101, 107; 37.1, 2; 38.1, 2, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 19, 22, 23, 24, 26, 31; 39.1, 2, 5, 13; 40.1, 2, 6, 7, 8: passim; with pers. pron.: kū-m: 15.3; kū-š: 2.5, 7, 8; 6.8; 8.1; 14.5; 18.2; 19.4; 23.6; 30.2, 13; 36.52; 38.24; kū-šān: 36.28, 29; kū-tān: Int.14

kū-gyāgīh [~-gyw'kyh] n. 'place' 13.3

kūīh [~-yh] n. 'the where, place' 36.14

kun- See kardan

kunišn [kwnšn'] v. n. 'action, deed' Int.26; 1.11; 2.10, 15, 16; 13.2, 3, 4; 24.2; 37.2; 38.12, 28; ~ān: 35.3, 7; ~garān: 36.96

kūs [kws] adv. 'direction, side' (?) **38.22**

kust [kwst'] n. 'side, direction' 36.100; ~ag: 32.1; 36.34; kustag-kustag: Int.8

kustīg [kwstyk'] n. 'kustīg, sacred girdle' **38.1**, 9, 14, 18, 22, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31; 39.1

kync [kync'] (?) **20.7**

- m -

ma [AL] adv. (prohibitive) 'not' 36.28

mādagwar [m'tkwl] adj. 'essential, principle' Int.20; ~īh: Int.7; ~tar: 8.2, 3; 38.3; ~tom: 1.2

madan [mtn'] vb. 'come' 13.3; 16.13; 17.3; 18.6; 30.8, 15; 30.17; 36.22, 47, 83; ~mad: Int.15; 4.3; 16.2; 22.3; 27.3; 36.30, 31, 34, 57, 68, 92, 94, 106; 38.13, 24

mādar [AMYtl] n. 'mother'; ~ān: 9.2

mādayān [m'tgd'n'] adj. 'essence, essential' **Int.6**, 21, 23; 1.4; 4.3; 30.9; 39.11; ~tar: Int.23

māh [BYRA] n. 'month, moon' Int.15; 36.21, 104; 1.1; 30.13; 33.2; 36.1~ān: 36.24

māhīg [m'hyk'] n. 'fish'; ~ān: 30.17

mahist [msst'] adj. 'greatest' 1.9; 25.3; 36.30, 65, 72; 38.3, 11

Malhiy [mlhyh / mhlyh] proper n. 'Malhiy' 36.68

Malhiyānē [mlhy'n'] proper n. 'Malhiyānē' 36.68

Malkōs(ān) [mlkws'n] proper n. 'Malkōs(ān)' **36.80**

man [L] pers. pron. 'I, me' Int.3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 20, 25, 26; 6.3, 4; 18.4

mān [m'n'] n. 'house, dwelling' Int.11; 22.3; 36.44

mānāg [m'n'k'] n. 'like, resembling' 30.8; 31.4; 38.29; ~īh: 26.7

māndan, mān- [KTLWN-tn'] vb. 'stay, remain'; ~ēd: 36.54, 99; ~ēnd: 36.93; mānd: 22.2; 23.5; 36.48

mānistan, mān- [m'n-stn'] = māndan, vb. 'stay, remain'; mānist: 16.4

māništ [m'nyšt'] n. 'dwelling, abode' 16.4, 13; 25.2; 26.7; 32.4; ~īg: 36.50; ~ōmand: 17.2

mānsar [m'nsl] n. '(holy) word, spell' Int.23; 1.5; 38.15; ~īg: **36.26**; see also ōšmurd-mānsar

Manuščihr [m'nwšcyhl] proper n. 'Manuščihr' H.; 36.26

mar [ml] n. 'number' 36.69

mar [ml] adj. 'felon, scoundrel'; ~ān: 31.4

mard [GBRA, mlt'] n. 'man' 1.1, 7; 2.1, 19; 3.1, 2; 7.1, 7; 17.4; 30.17; 36.68, 84; 39.2; ~ān: 1.3, 6, 12; 3.4

mārdan, mār- [m'l-tn'] vb. 'perceive'; ~ēd: 15.2

mardōm [ANŠWTA] n. 'man, people' 1.6; 6.1; 16.6, 13; 35.6; 36.19, 82, 85; 38.3, 7, 20, 27, 31; 39.5; ~ān: 2.13; 15.2, 6; 16.8, 12, 13; 22.1, 3; 23.3; 30.17; 34.4; 36.19, 57, 69, 81, 92, 93; 38.2, 18, 21, 23, 30, 31

marg [mlg] n. 'death' 22.3; 36.28, 44, 69, 85; ~īh: 36.30, 37, 40, 57, 58, 59, 69, 91, 93; 38.19; ~ōmand: 36.33, 91, 109; ~ōmandān: 2.12; 22.3; 30.17; 36.99, 106; ~ōmandīh: 36.68

marg-arzān [~-'lc'n'] adj. 'deserving death' 40.2; ~ān: 40.4

margēnāg [mlgyn'k'] n. 'deadly' 36.4; 36.91

margēnīdan, margēn- [mlgyn-ytn'] vb. 'kill' 36.65; ~ēd: 36.65; ~īd: 36.57; ~īdār: 38.25; īdārīh: 36.38, 40, 69

margīhīdan, margīh- [mlgyh-ytn'] vb. 'to be dead'; ~ēd: 36.60

māwāg See cim ī māwāg

mayān [mdy'n'] n. 'middle' 1.6; 19.5; 20.2, 7; 36.15, 34, 89; 38.9, 12, 21, 23, 26, 29, 31; ~ag: 33.2; 36.19, 32; 38.18

māzandar [m'zndl] n. 'gigantic'; ~ān: 36.31

māzanīg [m'znyk'] adj. '(demon) of Mazan'; ~ān: 36.45, 68

māzantom [m'zntwm] adj. 'the most gigantic' 36.36; 38.17

Māzdēsn [m'zd(y)sn'] Proper n. 'Mazdean' Int.5; 4.2; 38.15; ~ān: 1.12; 3.2; 21.1, 3; 36.35, 79; 40.1, 5, 6

mazg [mzg] n. brain' 38.29

mēdyōzarm [mytywkzlm] n. 'spring' **30.12**

meh [ms] adj. 'great(er)' Int.5, 6, 11, 23; 1.1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 12; 2.12; 3.1, 4; 7.1; 15.3; 20.8; 24.2; 30.20; 31.13; 32.6; 36.13; ~īh: Int.11; 1.2; 2.19; 26.6

mehēnīdan, mehēn- [msyn-ytn'] vb. 'increase'; ~išn: 6.4

mehēnišn See mehēnīdan

mehmān [m(')hm'n'] n. 'inhabitant, resident, guest' 2.15, 18; 6.8; 16.13; ~īh: 1.3; 2.16; 18.4

menīdan, men- [myn-ytn'] vb. 'think, consider' 2.13; 4.3; 5.6

menišn [mynšn'] v. n. 'thought, intention' 2.15, 16, 18; 3.3; 5.6; 6.7; 13.2, 3; 24.2; 36.11, 28; 37.2; 38.5, 8, 12, 28, 29; ~īg: 1.7; 40.5 ~īgīh: 2.14; ~īh: 2.17 see also abēzag-menišnīh

mēnōg [mynwk] n. & adj. 'spirit, spiritual, spiritual world' 1.9; 2.13, 18, 19; 5.5; 6.7; 13.4; 15.3, 7; 16.4, 13; 18.3, 5; 20.2, 6, 8; 21.1, 3; 22, 4; 23.2, 3, 6; 24.3, 4; 25.7; 26.6; 27.2, 4; 30.2, 4, 5, 17; 31.4, 9, 12; 33.2; 35.7; 36.4, 19, 41, 51, 65, 69, 81, 83, 86, 87, 96, 100, 101, 107; 38.10; ~ān: Int.0, 23; 3.2; 4.1; 15.6, 7; 18.1, 3; 21.2, 3; 27.3; 30.4, 5; 36.2, 10; 36.37, 44, 47, 51, 109; 38.2, 22; ~īg: 1.1; 5.2; 15.2; 18.3, 5; 30.2, 7, 12, 17; 31.4; 36.13; ~īh: 16.13; 36.51; ~īhā: 1.3; 15.6; 22.3; ~tom: 36.10; 38.2

mēnōgān-tāšīd [mynwk'n t'šyt'] adj. 'spirit fashioned' 36.35; 38.15
mēnōg-cihrīh [mynwk cyhlyh] n. 'spiritual nature' 27.4
mēnōg-waxšag [~-whšk'] adj. 'growing spirit' 2.13
mēnōg-waxšīg [~-whšyk'] n. 'spiritual existence' 36.35
mēnōg-waxšīh [~-whšyh] n. 'spiritual existence' 27.6; ~ā: 1.3
mēnōg-wāzišnīhā [~-w'cšnyh'] adv. 'spiritually flying' 30.2
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Mešīhā [mšyh'] proper n. 'Mesīhā' 36.76, 77
mēx [myh] n. 'stake'; ~īhā: 36.48
mēwag [mywk'] n. 'fruit'; ~ān: 30.17
mih [mt'] adj. 'in contrast, in opposition' **36.22**
mihōxt [mytwht'] n. 'falsehood' 36.37, 41; see also zūr-mihōxtīhā, zūr-mihōxtagīhā
Mihr [mtr'] proper n. 'Mihr' 13.3; 30.10
mihr [mtr'] n. 'love' 4.4
mihr [mtr'] n. 'sun' 30.13
mihrbānagīh [mhr'p'nkyh] n. 'kindness' Int.4
mihr-drōz [mtr'dlwc] =mihrōdruj
mihrōdruj [mtr' 'w dlwc] n. 'contract-breaker'; ~ān: **13.3**
Mihr-Xwaršēd [mtr' hwlšyt'] proper n. 'Mihr-Xwaršēd' H.
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mīrāg [myl'k'] adj. 'mortal' 36.91
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mizag [mck'] n. 'taste' 2.13; 38.4; ~ān: 30.17
mizd [mzd] n. 'award' 5.5; 12.1; 14.3, 4; 15.6; 30.3, 20
mowbed [mgwpt'] n. 'Mowbed, Mazdean priest'; ~ān: Int.8
mowmard [mgw-GBRA] n. 'Mowmard' Int.21; ~ān: **Int.7**, 8
murdan, mīr- [YMYTWN-tn'] vb. 'die'; ~ēd: 24.1; 40, 4; ~ēnd: 36.80; murd: 36.78, 79, 93; 40.8
murdag [mwltk'] adj. 'dead' 16.14; 36, 77; ān: 19.2
murdagestān [mwltkst'n'] n. 'cemetery' 20.7
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nāmēnīdan, nāmēn- [n'myn-ytn'] vb. 'call'; ~ēnd: Int.11
nang-gar [nng-gl] n. 'shameful' **36.4**
nang-rawišnīh [nng-lwbšnyh] n. 'disgrace behaviour' 36.42
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nēk [nywk'] adj. 'good, well, beautiful' 2.13; 6.4; 25.6; 30.8; 36.22, 81; 37.2; ~ān: 36.46; ~īh: 2.14, 18; 5.3; 25.3, 5, 7; 26.5; 30.17; 32.3; 36.27, 106; 37.2; ~tom: 36.104
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nēk-kard [~-krt'] adj. 'well-made' **36.15**
nēk-rawišnīh [~-lwbšnyh] n. 'good progress' 2.13; 6.2; 13.6; 36.13, 49
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nērōgīhīdan, nērōgīh- [nylwkyh-ytn'] vb. 'strengthen'; ~ēd: 36.79
nēst [LOYT'] vb. 'is not' Int.19, 21, 28; 14.3; 16.13; 18.2; 25.4; 26.3; 30.11; 32.4; 36.11, 13, 51, 99, 101; 40.7
nēst-zōr [~-z(')wl] adj. 'powerless' 36.88
nēzag [nyck'] n. 'lance' 20.5
nibard [nplt'] n. 'fight' 36.42
nibēg [npyk'] n. 'book'; ~ān: Int.24
nibēmišnīhā [npdmšnyh'] adv. 'prostrate' (?) **24.5**
nibēsišn [YKTBWNšn'] v. n. 'write' 36.48; ~īh: Int.16

nibištan, nibēs- [YKTBWNtn'] vb. 'write' Int.4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 17; ~ēm: Int.12, 19, 33.2; ~īhēd: Int.28; nibišt: Int.10, 14, 17, 18, 20, 21; 6.2; 30.10
nīdan, nay- [DB(Y)LWN-tn'] vb. 'lead'; ~ēd: 30.1; 31.1, 3; ~ēnd: 33.2
nīdārīh [YD(B)LWNt'lyh] n. 'guidance' 31.5
nigāh [nk's] n. 'look, attention' 16.5; 31.4; 36.35
nigāh-dāštār [~-d'št'l] n. 'guardian' 1.5
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nigān [nk'n'] adj. 'buried' 36.99; ~ōmandīh: 36.85
nigerīdan, niger- [nkyl-ytn'] vb. 'observe, look' Int.15; ~ēd: 16.13; 23.2; 24.2; 36.7; ~ēnd36.47 ~īd: Int.15; ~īhēd: 38.25
nigerišn [nyklšn'] v. b. 'observation' Int.6, 7; 36.9, 47, 62; 38.4
nigēz [nkyc] n. 'teaching, exposition' Int.22; 38.21, 24
nigēxtan, nigēz- [nkyhtn', nkyc-] vb. 'expound'; ~ēd: Int.5
nigēzišn [nkycšn'] v. n. 'teaching, exposition' Int.23, 25; 38.22
nigūn [nkwn'] adj. 'inverted, downwards' 20.7; 31.2; ~īg: 26.2; 32.6; ~īh: 19.5; 32.6; 33.2
nigūnīdan, nigūn- [nkwn-ytn'] vb. 'invert'; ~īhēd: 19.5; 24.6
nihādag [nyd'tk'] n. 'foundation' **Int.23**
nihādan, nih- [HNHTWN-tn'] vb. 'put, place' 38.25; ~ēd: 20.7; ~īhēd: 16.13; 38.5; nihād: 36.6, 81; 40.5
nihān [nh'n'] adj. 'hidden' 15.4; 38.28; 39.2
nihān-rawišn [~-lwbšn'] v. n. 'secretive, clandestine' 36.40; 38.24, 30
nihānēnīdārīh [nh'nynyt'lyh] n. 'causing to disappear' Int.26
nihuftan, nihumb- [nhwptn', nhwmb-] vb. 'hide, conceal'; nihuft: 36.2, 47
nihuftār [nhwpt'l] n. 'concealing' 36.47
nihumbag [nhwmbk'] n. 'covering' 17.4
nihumbišn [nhwmbšn'] v. n. 'conceal' 36.44
nikōhagīh [nkwhkyh] n. 'blaming' 24.6
nimāyišn [nm'dšn'] v. n. 'show, performance' Int.14, 23; 30.12, 13; 38.5, 6, 10; ~īg: 38.23; ~īh: 30.8; 36.42
nimūdan, nimāy- [nmwtn', nm'd-] vb. 'show, guide' 15.6; 16.14; 17.2; 30.7, 18; ~ēd: 2.18; 16.14; 30.1; nimūd: Int.12; 3.3, 4; 16.14; 38.31
nimūdār [nmwt'l] n. 'displayer, practitioner' Int.8; 38.24; ~īh: Int.23
nimūnag [nmwnk'] n. 'example' **2.13**; 30.18
nirfsišn [nlpsšn'] v. n. 'decrease' 14.6; 36.23
nišān [nyš'n'] n. 'sign, mark, significance' Int.1, 9, 13; 36.47, 49; 38.6, 8, 11, 12, 26, 30, 32; ~ag: 38.5, 6, 30; ~īh: 38.2
nišastan, nišīn- [YTYBWN-stn'] vb. 'sit'; ~ēd: 15.6; 23.1, 2; 24.1
niwē [nwyk'] n. 'good news' 15.6
niwēyēnīdan, niwēyēn- [nwykyn-ytn'] vb. 'announce'; ~īd: 2.13
nixwārīdan, nixwār- [nswb'l-ytn'] vb. 'hasten'; ~ēd: 36.8, 90, 91; ~īd: 36.34
nixwārišnīgīh [nswb'lšnykyh] n. 'hastening' 2.16
niyābag [nyd'pk'] adj. 'suitable, proper' Int.3, 11, 27; 39.2, 5; ~īh: 38.12
Niyāz [nyd'c] proper n. 'the demon Niyāz' 36.31, 40
niyāz [nyd'c] n. 'need, want, misery' 12.3; 25.4; 31.6; 36.101, 104; 38.2
niyōxšīdār [n(y)dwhšyt'l] n. 'listener' 2.16
nizārēnīdan [nz'lyn-ytn'] vb. 'weaken' 36.39

nizdēn [n(y)zdyn'] adj. 'gloomy' (?) **36.68**
nō [9] num. 'nine' 20.5
nōg [nwk'] adj. 'new' 21.3; 22.2; 30.9; 36.3, 13, 82, 95, 103, 40.5; nōg-nōg: Int.27; 36.13; 27.2, 4; ~īh: 27.5
nōgīhīdan [nwkyh-ytn'] vb. 'renew'; ~ēd: 36.29
nōzdahom [nwzdhwm] num. 'nineteenth' 19.1
nūn [KON] adv. 'now' Int.23; 15.3; 35.6; 36.37, 103; nūn-iz: Int.8

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ō [OL, 'w] prep. 'to, at, ' Int.0; 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 14, 15, 17, 21, 22, 25, 27; 11.2; 12.3; 13.3, 5; 14.5, 6; 15.3, 5, 6; 16.1, 2, 5, 9, 10, 13; 17.1, 2, 3; 22.3; 23.3, 4, 5; 24.4, 5; 25.6; 26.5, 7; 27.2, 7; 28.2; 29.3; 30.1, 2, 3, 5, 9, 11, 12, 17, 18; 31.1, 3; 33.1, 2; 34.2, 3; 35.2, 6; 36.5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31, 32, 34, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 57, 58, 60, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 72, 73, 78, 79, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 97, 99, 100, 102, 103, 104, 106; 37, 3; 38.2, 7, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 31; 39.12, 13; 40.1, 5, 7; with pers. pron.: ō-m: 36.48; with enclitic -z: aw-iz: Int.3, 7; 36.5, 34, 85, 88; 38.10; see also awiš
ōftādan, ōft- ['wpt-] vb. 'fall'; ēd: 19.5; 20.7; 24.6
ōftišn ['wptšn'] v. n. 'fall' 22.3; ~īh: 33.2
ōgār ['wk'l] n. 'ebb' 36.23
ōgārdan, ōgār- ['wk'l-tn'] vb. 'expel, remove' **36.39**; ~ēnd: 12.1; 14.1
ōh [KN] adv. 'thus, so'; ōh-iz: 'even if' Int.10, 23, 24; 1.6; 2.16; 5.4; 16.14; 22.4; 36.4, 28, 29, 47; 38.27; and also with little apparent effect; and with verbs, giving a sense of uncertainty 'may, perhaps': 11.2; 30.4; 40.1
Ohrmazd ['whmzd] proper n. 'Ohrmazd' Int.0; 1.1, 3, 5; 6.3, 8; 13.3; 16.13, 14; 18.1, 3, 5, 6; 21.1; 30.1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 10; 35.7; 36.7, 10, 30, 51, 52, 61, 100; 38.19, 24, 30; ~īg: 18.6; 36.13
ōmārdan ['wm'l-tn'] vb. 'feel' **2.13**
ōstīgān ['wstyk'n'] adj. 'firm, steadfast' 4.4; 14.2; 36.13; ~īh: 36.79; ~īhā: 38.8, 11; ~tar: 2.3,19; ~tom: 36.70
ōstīgānīh- ['wstyk'nyh-] vb. 'to be steadfast'; ~ēd: 2.15
ōš ['wš] n. 'death' Int.18; 2.13; 29.3; 36.39; 38.29; ~īh: **1.5**; 22.3; ~ōmand: 36.30, 80; ~ān: 36.80; ~īhā: 36.30
ōš(e)bām ['wšb'm] n. 'dawn' 29.1, 2
ōšmurdan, ōšmār- ōšmur-['wšmwl-tn', 'wšm'l-] vb. 'count, consider' 36.86; ~īhēd: 36.67; ōšmur: 3.3; ōšmār: 36.69; ōšmurd: 6.4; 35.2; 38.6
ōšmurd-mānsar ['wšmwlt' m'nsl] adj. 'having studied the Sacred Words' Int.8
ōšmurišn ['wšmwlšn'] v. n. 'count, consider' 38.16
Ōšnar ['wšnl] proper n. 'Ōšnar' **36.26**
ōšyār ['wšd'l] adj. 'alert, conscious' **36.11**
owōn ['wgwn'] adv. conj. 'so, as' Int.8, 10, 15, 19, 25, 28; 2.4; 7.7; 15.2, 4; 16.2, 4, 13; 36.29, 47, 51, 55, 65, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 81, 82; 38.10, 24, 25, 26, 27, 31
ōy [OLE] pers. dem. pron. 3 sg.'he, she, that' Int.5, 11; 1.2, 8; 2.3, 13; 7.1, 2, 5; 8.1, 2, 3, 4; 12.4, 5; 13.3; 20.5; 21.2; 28.2; 31.4, 5; 32.2; 36.2, 10, 11, 15, 29, 30, 31, 51, 53,

54, 55, 56, 73, 76, 86, 102, 106, 108; 38.10, 21, 24, 31, 32; ~-iz:15.5; 16.13; 21.3; 36.30, 36; see also awēšān

ōz ['wc] n. 'power, strength' 36.26; ~īhā: 36.64; see also was-ōztom

ōzanišn [YKTLWNšn'] v. n. 'kill' 36.40; ~garān: 31.4

ōzēnāg ['wcyn'k'] n. 'killing' 36.60

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pa(c)cēn [pcgn'] n. 'copy' Int.17, 28

pad [PWN] prep. 'to, in, on, at' Int.0, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 24, 27;...11.2, 3; 12.1, 3; 13.1, 2, 3, 4, 5; 14.1, 2, 6; 15.2, 3, 6; 16.3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13, 14; 22.2, 3; 23.2, 4, 5; 24.2, 6; 25.3; 26.6; 27.5, 6; 28.2; 29.1; 30.1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20; 31.1, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12; 32.1, 2, 5, 6; 33.1, 2; 34.4; 35.2, 5, 6, 7; 36.3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13: 39.15, 17; 40.1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; 36.12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 29, 36, 37, 39, 41, 42, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 52, 55, 56, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 67, 69, 72, 73, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 81, 84, 85, 86, 88, 90, 91, 92, 93, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 106, 108, 109; 37.3; 38.2, 3, 4; 38.5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31; 39.2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12; with pers. pron.: pad-im: 36.48; pad-iš: Int.6, 15; 4.3; 5.7; 12.3; 14.6; 15.5; 16.4, 9, 14; 17.3; 18.6; 36.9, 24, 38, 49, 68, 72, 79, 86, 109; 38.2, 8, 10, 24, 25, 28; 40.6; with enclitic -z: pad-iz: Int.8; 13.3; 15.3; 16.14; 35.3; 36.86; 38.12, 21; 40.3

pad- [pt-] vb. 'fall'; ~ēnd: 36.44; ~īd: 36.32

pādan, pāy- [NTLWN-tn'] vb. 'protect, watch' 16.2; ~ēm: 3.3; ~īhēd: 36.86

pādār [p'tl] n. 'guardian, protector' 36.100; ~īh: **27.6**

pādāšn [p'td'šn'] n. 'reward, retribution' 2.13;4.3; 5.5; 11.3; 12.1; 14.6; 21.3; 31.13; 36.14; 37.2

padēx [ptyhw'] adj. 'abundant' Int.22; ~īh: Int.24

pad gōhrīg [pt' gwhlyk'] n. 'substitute, instead of' 36.28

pādifrāh [p'tpl's] n. 'punishment' 5.5, 6; 12.1, 4; 13.1, 4, 5, 6; 19.2; 23.4, 5; 26.1, 4, 6, 7; 31.1, 7, 9, 11; 32.4; 36.18; 40.4, 5; ~ōmand: 12.5

padīrag [ptylk'] n. 'meet, towards' 23.5; 24.5; 30.1; 31.1; 36.103; 'against, opposition, rival' 10.2; 36.13, 31; ~īgān: 36.5

pādīrān [p'tgl'n'] n. 'restraint' 39.17

padīriftan, padīr- [MKBLWN-tn'] vb. 'accept, receive'; ~ēd: 30.1; 36.11; ~ēnd: 5.6; ~īhēd: 38.25; padīrift: 7.3; 14.6

padīriftār [ptylpt'l] n. 'acceptor' 1.9; 29.4

padīrišn [ptylšn'] v. n. 'acceptance'; ~īh: 7.3

padisārīg [ptys'lyk] n. 'conclusion' **5.7**

padisāy [pts'd] n. 'subsequently' **36.48**

padistīh [ptstyh] n. 'threat' **36.13**

pādixšāy [p'thš'(d)] adj. 'ruler, permitted' 6.3; 28.1; ~ān: 4.1; ~īh: 6.2

padwišag [ptwšk'] n. 'contamination' 16.13; ~īg: 16.13; ~ōmand: **16.6**

pah [p'h] n. 'sheep'; ~ān: 30.17

pahikār [ptk'l] n. 'battle, struggle' 36.53, 60; see also pas-pahikār, pēš-pahikār

pahlom [p'hlwm] adj. 'good, best, foremost' 3.4; ān: 3.4; ~īgān: 1.3

pahlūg [p'hlwk'] n. 'side' 20.3

pahnāy [phn'd] n. 'width' 20.3

pahrēxtan, pahrēz- [p'hlyhtn', p'hlyc-] vb. 'care for' 14.5

pahrēz [p'hlyc] n. 'protection, care' 21.3; 38.12; ~āg: 2.16; ~ēnāg: 21.3

pahrēzīhīdār [p'hlycyhyt'l] n. 'avoider' **2.19**

pahrist [ptlyst'] n. 'comprehended (?)' **36.47**

pahrmāyišn [ptlm'hšn'] v. n. 'touch' 2.13

pāk [DKYA, p'k] adj. 'clean, pure' 27.5; 39.2, 7, 8, 15; ~īh: 16.13; 38.12; ~īhā: 27.2; ~tom: 25.2

pānag [p'nk'] n. 'protector, guard' 21.3, 4; 29.4; ~īh: 14.2; 21.3, 5; 27.2, 3, 6; 36.14

pānagīh- [p'nkyh-] vb. 'to be protected'; ~ēd: 27.6

pand [pnd] n. 'way' 18.6

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pargān [plk'n] n. 'walls' 30.17

pargast [plgst'] participle used as exclamation 'Heaven forbid!' Int.22

pargūd-az-ōšīh [plgwt' MN 'wšyh] n. 'lack of perception' Int.22

parīg [plyk'] n. 'witch' 38.13; ~ān: 36.22, 44

paristag [plstk'] n. 'servant' 30.17; 38.10

paristīdan, parist- [plst-ytn'] vb. 'worship'; ~ēd: 31.9

paristišn [plstšn'] v. n. 'worship' 2.10.11,12; 27.2; 38.3, 5, 8; ~īhā: 39.5

parwānag [plw'nk'] n. 'guide' 30.2

parwand [plwnd] n. 'girdle, belt' **38.14**, 18, 22, 23; ~īh: 39.2; ~īhā: 38.30

parwandišn [plwndšn'] v. n. 'girdling, wearing (of the kustīg)' 39.2; īg: 38.22

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parwarišn [plwlšn'] v. n. 'fostering' 27.2

parwast [plwst'] n. 'enclosure' 36.10, 11, 13, 99; 38.14, 30; ~ag: 2.17; ~ār: 36.18

parwastan, parwand- [plwstn', plwnd-] vb. 'surround, enclose, to tie round' 38.26; ~īhēd: 36.11, 100; 39.2

pās [p's] n. 'watch' 2.19

pas [AHL] adv. 'then, afterwards' 2.7, 8; 3.3; 5.4; 7.1, 4, 5; 8.3; 13.4; 14.3; 16.3, 10, 13; 21.2; 23.2; 31.2, 11; 32.2; 34.1; 36.13, 46, 49, 53, 55, 58, 60, 69, 81, 86, 92, 93, 98, 101; 38.22, 25; 39.2, 8, 9, 10, 17; pas-iz: Int.8, 10, 21; 15.5; 16.7; 21.2; 36.2; 38.6; ~īhā: 36.52; ~tar: 8.3

pāsbānīh [p'sp'nyh] n. 'protection, defence' 27.2, 3, 5, 6

pas-dahīhā [AHL dhyh'] adv. 'violence that comes late' 36.52

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pasēnīgān [psynk'] n. 'posterity, future generation' 38.21; ~ān: 36.48

pas-kōxš [AHL kw(h)š] adj. 'under attack' 36.53; pas-kōxšišnīhā: 36.46

pāsox [p'shw'] n. 'answer' H.; Int.3, 12, 13, 14, 18, 21, 28; 1.2; 10.1; 11.2; 12.2; 13.2; 14.2; 15.2; 16.2; 18.2; 19.2; 20.2; 21.2; 22, 2; 23.2; 24.2; 25.2; 26.2; 27.2; 28.2; 29.2; 30.2, 10; 31.2; 32.2; 33.2; 35.2; 36.2; 37.2; 38.2, 24; 39.2; 40.2; ~īh: Int.12

pāsoxēnīdan, pāsoxēn- [p'shwyn-ytn'] vb. 'answer'; ~ēm: Int.25

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pašēmān [pšym'n'] n. 'repentant, penitent' 36.94, 95; ~īh: 36.18, 64; ~īhā: 36.13; ~tar: 18.6
pašēmānīh- [pšym'nyh-] vb. 'to be penitent'; ~ēd: 31.5; 36.65
pāšom [p(')šwm] adj. 'excellent' Int.5; 1.6, 11; 13.5, 6; 15.5; 30.13, 20; 35.2; 36.27, 81, 98; 40.8; ~ān: 1.6; 17.4; 38.32
pāšom-dānišn [~-d'nšn'] adj. 'knowledgeable'; ~ān: 36.19
pāšom-kunišn [~-kwnšn'] v. n. 'perfect work'; ~ān: 35.7
pāšom-rawišnīh [~-lwbšnyh] n. 'excellent progress' 13.6
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pattūdan, pattāy- [ptwtn', pt'd-] vb. 'last, endure'; ~ād: Int.3; ~ēd: 36.79
pattūgīh- [ptwkyh] vb. 'endure'; ~ēnd: 36.18
pāy [LGLE] n. 'foot' 2.13
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pāyāg [NTLWN-'k'] n. 'protecting' 2.13
pāyag [p'd(y)k'] n. 'station, degree' Int.6, 11; 19.5; 30.2, 17; 31.12, 13; 33.2; 38.5; ~īh: 36.106
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payrāstan, payrāy- [ptl'stn', pyl'd-] vb. 'arrange, adorn'; ~ēd: 36.92; payrāst: 2.13; 16.11; 36.17, 22, 26, 49
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paywast-axwīh [ptwst 'hwyh] n. 'like-mindedness' **35.6**
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pērōz-frazāmīh [~-plc'myh] n. 'final victory' 36.56
pērōzgar [pylwcgl] adj. 'victorious' 27.7
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u- [AP̱] conj. 'and' passim; with suffix pron. u-m: Int.6, 11, 14, 15, 17, 18, 25; u-mān: 2.3; 4.1; 6.1, 5; u-š: H.; Int.5; 12.3; 13.1; 14.3, 6; 15.1, 2, 4; 16.2, 6, 9, 10, 14; 39.17; 40.1, 4, 5, and passim; u-šān: 1.4, 5; 5.5; 16.13; 19.2; 21.1; 22.3; 30.1; 31.1, 12; 35.2; 36.19, 23, 24, 34, 48, 100; 38.14, 20, 31; 39.5 and passim; u-tān: Int.9, 27
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[2]waxš [whš] n. 'interest, profit; high' **9.1**, 2; 10.1, 2; 11.1, 3, 4; 14.5; 16.13; 17.2
waxšīdan, waxš- [whš-ytn'] vb. 'grow'; ~ēd: 2.18; 9.2; 36.62
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weh-dādestānīh [~-d'tst'nyh] n. 'well judgment' 4.1
weh-dēn [~-dyn'] n. 'of the good (Mazdean) religion' Int.5; 1.5; 4.2, 4; 36.35, 79; 38.15, 22; 40.6; ~ān: 38.31; ~īh: 40.7
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weh-rāyēnīdār [ŠPYL l'dynyt'l] n. 'organiser of what is good'; ~ān: 36.26
wēhm-xāk [wyyhm h'k'] n. 'wide realm'; ~ān: Int.27
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wēš [wyš] adj. 'more' Int.6; 5.1, 2, 3, 5, 8; 12.4, 5; 15.3; 18.4; 19.4; 25.3; 26.6, 8; 30.11; 31.13; 32.3; 36.69; 37.3; 38.12; ~īh:12.3; 13.3; ~tar: 36.1; 37.3
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widardan, wider- [wtltn', wt(y)l-] vb. 'pass, die'; ~ēd: 19.4; 20.6; 21.1; 23.1; ~ēnd: 33.2; widard: 14.4; 22.4; 27.2; 36.69, 93
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